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- CHARTRES, J., Seed Merchant, 74, King William-st., City.
- CHEDELL, T., & Co., Wine Merchants, 40, Lime-street.
- CHEEK & MARSH, Wholesale and Retail Umbrella, Parasol, Fishing-rod, and Tackle Manufacturers, Dealers in Riding Whips, Archery, Walking Sticks, Cricket Balls, &c., 132, Oxford-street.
- CHILD, E. E., Sole Agent for Greener's Harpoon Gun, Colonial Commission Agent. Goods forwarded to the Colonies on receipt of an order payable in London. 216 and 217, High-street, Shadwell.
- CHILD, E. E., Silversmith and Jeweller, Chronometers, Barometers, Sextants, Telescopes, Muskets, Guns, Cutlery, and Hardware, Wholesale and for Exportation, 216 and 217, High-street, Shadwell.
- CHILD, W. H., Wholesale and Export Brush Manufacturer, 20 & 21, Providence-row, Finsbury.
- CHILD, R. W., Wholesale Jeweller, 15, St. John-sq., Clerkenwell.
- CHIPCHASE, J., Wholesale and Export Boot and Shoe Manufacturer (Emigrants and Shippers supplied), 227, Shadwell, High-street; 23, Three Colt-street, Limehouse, and 8, Bedford-place, Commercial-road, East.
- CHRISTY, H., Wholesale Potter and Glass Manufacturer, 1, Union-row, Tower-hill.
- CITY OF LONDON CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT (J. Winter, Proprietor), 71, Holborn-hill.
- CLARK, G., Importer of Colonial Coffees, Orders executed promptly with due consideration to the quality of every article in the Tea and Coffee Trade, 135, Tottenham-court-road.
- CLARE, J., Engraver, &c., 7, Seckford-street, Clerkenwell.
- CLARK, J. H., Court Head-Dress and Transparent Peruke Maker, &c., 1, Vigo-street, Regent-street.
- CLARKE, J., Ancient Irish and Modern Lace, Fan and Moiré Antique Warehouse. By appointment—Milliner, Dres, Corset, and Habit Maker, at 170, Regent-street, 79, Bold-street, Liverpool, and 24, Princes-street, Manchester.
- CLARKE, W., & SONS, Watch Manufacturers, 8, Goswell-road.
- CLAYTON, W., & Co., Wholesale Export Perfumers, Fancy Soap and Brush Manufacturers, and General Warehousemen, 72, Watling-street.
- CLEAVER, F. S., Wholesale and Export Perfumer, Manufacturer of every kind of Fancy Soaps, and original Patentee of the Honey Soap, 18, Red Lion-square, Holborn.
- COLMAN, J. & J., Mustard (warranted to keep in all climates), Rice, and Wheat Starch, and Indigo Blue Manufacturers, 9, College-hill, Upper Thames-street.
- COLLIER, W. J., Cheesemonger, Poulterer, Porkman, &c.; York Hams and Wiltshire Bacon for exportation, 3, Princes-terrace, Caledonian-road.
- COLLINGRIDGE, C. B., Grocer and Cheesemonger, 8, Cop-pice-row, Clerkenwell.
- COLLINS, R. N., Wholesale Druggist and Patentee of the Disinfecting Powder for instantaneously destroying offensive smells, purifying sick rooms, workshops, &c., and for making Bleaching Liquid, 1, Oxford-court, Cannon-street, City.
- COMYNS, H., Optician, 5, Hereford-place, King's-rd., Chelsea.
- CONNOR & Co., Glass Works, Ballymacarrett, Belfast.
- COOK, R., Shipping Butcher, 16, Commercial-place, Commercial-road, East.
- COOK, SON, & Co., Manchester Warehousemen, St. Paul's Churchyard.
- COOLING, A., & Co., Manufacturing Perfumers, 134, London-wall.
- COOPER, G. A., & Co., Fancy Tea-Box and Tea-Canister Makers and General Japanners, 45, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.
- COOPER, J., & Co., Manufacturers of Patent Pianofortes for Exportation, 43, Moorgate-street.
- COOPER, J., & SONS, Manufacturers of the Patent Solid Pianofortes for India and the Colonies, of great strength and fullness of tone, 70, Berners-street, Oxford-street.
- COOPER, W. J., Dispensing Chemist, Manufacturer of the

- Patent Aerated Water, and Pure Dietetic Cocoa, and Inventor of Improved Tooth Brushes and Antiseptic Tooth Paste, 26, Oxford-street.
- COTTON, T., Watch and Chronometer Spring Manufacturer, 11, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.
- COTTON, C. R., Export Cooper, Bernondsey-wall.
- COW, P. B. (successor to Charles Macintosh & Co.), Patentees of Vulcanized India-rubber, and other Waterproof Cloths, Air Beds, Pillows, Cushions, &c., 46, Cheapside.
- COX, E., Improved Plane and General Mechanical Tool and Lathe Manufacturer, 15, Great Queen-st., Lincoln's-inn.
- COX, F., Optician, 100, Newgate-street.
- COX, J., Optician and Mathematical Instrument Maker, 5, Barbican.
- COWELL, C., Shipping Butcher, 20, St. George-street, St. George's, East.
- CRAIGHT, R., Scale, Weight, and Weighing Machine Manufacturer, 94, Goswell-street.
- CRIBB, W. E., Chronometer and Watch Maker, 17, Southampton-row, Russell-square.
- CRIPPS, J., Wire Worker, (by appointment to her Majesty and the Duchess of Kent,) Manufacturer of Aviaries, Pheasantries, Verandahs, Wire Fences, &c., King's-road, Chelsea.
- CRISP, W. G., Goldsmith and Jeweller, 64, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.
- CROGGOON & CO., Patent Asphalte Roofing, Boiler, Railway, Sheathing, and Inodorous Felt, (for damp walls,) 2, Dowgate-hill.
- CROSTA, CETTA, GOBBI, & CO., Wholesale and Export Picture Frame and Looking Glass Manufacturers, 34, St. John's-lane, West Smithfield.
- CROWTHER, J., Bleacher, Lyon Fold, Blackley.
- DALGLEISH & SON, D., Outfitters, Clothiers, Hatters, Hosiery, and Shirt Makers, 23 and 24, South-bridge, Edinburgh.
- DAVIES, JAS., & SON, Wholesale and Export Boot and Shoe Warehouse, 9, Gracechurch-street.
- DAVIES, W. J., Emery and Black Lead Manufacturer, New Weston-street, Southwark.
- DAVIS, E. J., Marquee and Rick Cloth Manufacturer, West Smithfield.
- DAVIS, G. P., Manufacturer of Launcelott's Patent Cooking Apparatus, and the Portable Washing Coppers, Gas Fitter, &c., 11, Barbican, City.
- DAVIS, J., the only Bootmaker in London who devotes his exclusive attention to Theatrical and Costume Boots, 3, Obelisk Buildings, Waterloo-road.
- DAVY, F., Merchant, Exeter.
- DAWSON & MORRIS, Isinglass Importers, 96, Fenchurch-st.
- DEARE, F. D., Australian Commission Merchant, East India Chambers, Leadenhall-street.
- DEANE, G. & J., Stove and Range Manufacturers, Export Ironmongers, Cutlers, Jewellers, Birmingham and Sheffield Warehousemen, Pump and Bath Manufacturers, Dealers in Agricultural Implements, Saddle, Harness, and Horse Clothing Manufacturers, and Dealers in Fancy Goods, 46, King William-street, London-bridge.
- DEANE, G. & J., Gun, Pistol, and Rifle Makers, by Appointment to H.R.H. Prince Albert, 30, King Wm.-st., City.
- DEAR & WARRINER, Wholesale and Export Toy Warehouse, 191, Bishopsgate-street, Without.
- DEED, J. S., Currier, Morocco, Roan, Kid, and Lamb Leather Dresser, and Wool Rug Manufacturer, 9 and 10, Little Newport-st.—Manufactory, Steyne Mills, Acton.
- DEFRIES, N., Consulting Gas Engineer, Inventor and Patentee of the Dry Gas Meter and Gas Bath, Manufacturer of Gas Cooking Stoves on the most approved principles, 145, Regent-street.
- DELFOSE & CO., Patentees of the Metal Stitched Boots and Shoes, (warranted not to rip,) 31, King William-street, City.
- DENNE & PEARCE, Furnishing Ironmongers, 44, Farringdon-street.
- DENTAL ASSOCIATION, to prevent exorbitant charges and inferior dental operations. Patronized by the Faculty. Mr. St. Marc, manager. 52, Great Marlborough-street.
- DE PASS & SON, Wholesale and Export Boot and Shoe Manufacturers, and Leather Merchants, 20, Finsbury-pl.
- DEVILLE & CO., Lamp, Lighthouse Lantern and Reflector Manufacturers, and Gas Fitters, 367, Strand.
- DICKINSON, H. J., & CO., Billiard and Bagatelle Table Manufacturers; a variety of Slate Tables always in stock, for Home Use and Exportation, 84, Gray's-inn-lane.
- DIXON, SONS, & TOOKE, Wholesale Jewellers, 37, Hatton-garden.
- DIXON, T., Saddlers' Tool Maker, Hall-lane, Walsall.
- DOBSON, H. T., Wire Worker, Blind Maker, Wrought Iron Verandah Builder, Surrey Wire Works, 55, Borough-road, Southwark, and at Church-st., Walton-on-Thames.
- DOBSON, J., Optician and Mathematical Instrument Maker, 268, High Holborn.
- DOVE, E., Die Sinker, Seal Cutter, Embosser, Seal and Fancy Wafer Manufacturer, 39, Forster-street, Ashley-crescent, City-road.
- DOWLER, M., Window Blind, Venetian, Spanish, and Oriental Shade Manufacturer, Spring Sun Blinds for Shop-fronts, Greenhouses, Verandahs, &c., 143, Fetter-lane, Fleet-street.
- DOWSON, J. E., Manufacturer of Cundy's Patent Stove, 123, Oxford-street.
- DUCKWORTH, F. J., & CO., Wine Merchants, 2, Brabant-court.
- DUDEEN, H., & SONS, Cornfactors and Wharfingers, East Hall, Bernondsey.
- DUFFIELD, J. E., & CO., Coach and Harness Manufacturers, 114, Aldersgate-street.
- DUNCAN & CO., R., Wine Merchants, East India and New Zealand Agents, 43, Lime-street.
- DUNN, D., Manufacturer of Soluble Chocolate, Cocoa, Essence of Coffee, &c., 9, King's-row, Pentonville.
- DURHAM, J. (By Special Appointment to H.R.H. Prince Albert), Manufacturer of Razors and Cutlery of every kind. Original Maker of the Steel Chatelaines, Needles, &c. Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation. 456, Oxford-street.
- DURROCH, (late Smith,) Surgical Instrument and Truss Manufacturer, 2, New-st., St. Thomas's-st., Borough.
- DUTHOIT & CO., Patent Portable Umbrella Tent Manufacturers, 6 Finsbury-place, South.
- DYMOND, H., & CO., Wholesale Boot and Shoe Manufacturer, and Dealers in Gutta Percha Goods, 1, Regent-street, City-road.
- EARDENSOHN, J., Wholesale and Export Ladies' Boot and Shoe Manufacturer, 10, Wellclose-square.
- EARNSLAW, T., Watch, Clock, and Chronometer Manufacturer to the Admiralty, 119, High Holborn.
- EDWARDS, J., Gas Apparatus Manufacturer and Fitter, 39 A, Ray-street, Clerkenwell.
- EDWARDS, D. & H. & CO., Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation—Patentees of the Preserved Potato, an invaluable sea store, adopted generally in the Royal Navy, by her Majesty's commissioners for emigration, the honourable E.I.C., and for shipping in general; and for its economy and facility in cooking, recommended for domestic use—supplied by all provision merchants in the United Kingdom, Colonies, &c.—1, Bishopsgate-street.
- EDWARDS, T. J., Manufacturer of Dressing Cases & Writing Desks to her Majesty, 21, King-street, Holborn.
- EGLISE, J., Watch Maker and Goldsmith for Home and Exportation, 30, Cornhill.
- EISENBERG, J., Surgeon Chiropodist to the principal Sovereigns and Aristocracy of Europe, 14, Cockspur-street.
- ELLEY, T. B., Shoe and Leather Manufacturer, Consignee for French Shoes and Leather, Stafford, and 3, Victoria-street, Holborn, Wholesale Warehouse, 74, Dale-street, Liverpool.
- ELLIS, T., Carriage and Harness Maker for Exportation to extreme climates, 60, High-street, Whitechapel.
- ELLWOOD, J. & SONS, Wholesale and Export Hat Manufacturers, 24, Great Charlotte-street, Blackfriars-road.
- ELSTON & SONS, R., Watch Dial Manufacturers, 24, Myddleton-street, Clerkenwell.
- EMES, J., Trunk, Chest and Packing Case Manufacturer (Bullock and Overland Trunks for India), 108 & 110, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury.
- ENNEVER & STEEDMAN, Pianoforte Manufacturers, with Metallic Plate, and all the latest Improvements, 3, Little Crescent-street, Euston-square.
- EPITHIM COMPANY, Sole Manufacturers of Markwick's Patent Spongio Piline (for Poultices), Impermeable Piline (for Rheumatism), Respirators, Chest Protectors, Shoe Socks, Lumbago Bands, Horse-foot Pads, the Indian Sponging Towels and Belts, &c., 32, King William-street, City.
- ERSWELL, H., Carriage and Harness Manufacturer, 24, Little Moorfields (established 1730).

- EVANS & HILL, real Manufacturers of all descriptions of Steel Mills and Screw Jacks, also the Improved Corn Mills and Dressing Machine for the Colonies, 14, Hollywell-row, Worship-street, Finsbury.
- EVANS, J., & SON, Engine, Lathe, and Tool Manufacturers, and General Machinists; Contractors to her Majesty's Honourable Board of Ordnance, and Patent Axletree Manufacturers, by appointment to her Majesty and the Royal Family; all kinds of Machinery supplied on liberal terms to merchants and captains for Exportation; 104, Wardour-street, Soho.
- EVERETT, J., Woolstapler, Upper Russell-street, Bermondsey, and Norwich.
- FAIRCHILD, J., & Co., Pianoforte Manufacturers (for extreme climates), 200, High Holborn.
- FAREBROTHER, CLARK, & LYE, Auctioneers, Surveyors, and Estate Agents, 6, Lancaster-place, Strand.
- FARLEY, J. S., Original Cemetery Stone Works, Statuary, Mason, and Monument Sculptor, Kensal Green, and 12, Goswell-road, Clerkenwell.
- FAUNTILERoy, C., Worsted and Yarn Spinner and Dyer, 13, Ropemaker-street, Finsbury.
- FELGATE, W., & Co., Ship and Insurance Agents, 4, Clements-lane.
- FERRARI, B., Wholesale and Export Manufacturer of Barometers, Looking Glasses, Picture Frames, and Fancy Cabinet Goods, 48, Compton-street, Clerkenwell.
- FITCH, J. R., Wholesale Jeweller and Birmingham Agent, every description of Gas Chandeliers and Fittings, 51, Hatton-garden.
- FONTAINE, W., Tallow Chandler, Soap Maker, and Oilman, East-street, Hoxton.
- FORSTER & SMITH, Merchants, New City Chambers, Bishopsgate-street.
- FRASER, J., Wholesale and Export Boot and Shoe Manufacturer, 172, Saint George-street.
- FRENCH, J., & SONS, Wholesale Manufacturing Goldsmiths and Jewellers, 5, Newcastle-place, Clerkenwell-cloise.
- FREEMAN, Builder and Architect, New Walk, Shad Thames.
- FROST, J., Copper and Brass Founder, 8, Allen-street, Goswell-street.
- FROST, W., Brass Founder and General Caster for Gas Fitters, Engineers, and Ship Builders, 17, Half Moon-street, Bishopsgate-street.
- FROST, NOAKES, & VINCENT, (Originally, James Frost,) Brass and Cock Founders, Pump Makers, &c., 195, Brick-lane, Whitechapel, London.
- FUDGE, C., Manufacturing Goldsmith, 45, Seckford-street.
- FURTH, DANIEL, Merchant, 29, Nicholas-lane.
- GAFFIN, T., Carrara Marble Works, choice designs of Monuments, Tablets, and every description of Marble, Stone, and Scagliola Work, 63, Quadrant, Regent-street.
- GALLY, P. & P., & Co., Opticians and Looking-Glass Manufacturers, 68, Hatton-garden.
- GALPIN, J., Manufacturer of the Broad Drawing Pencils for bold and effective drawing, and Improved Tinted Boards for Moonlight Effect, &c., the Repository for Lending Drawings in the Broad Style, Water Colour Drawing and Flower Painting, 55, Rathbone-place.
- GAMBLE & DAVIS, Wholesale and Export Shoe Manufacturers, 45, Fish-street-hill.
- GANGE, G. (from Broadwood's), Pianoforte Maker, Manufacturer of all the latest Improvements, and suitable for all climates, 10, Lower Belgrave-place, Pimlico.
- GARDNER, J., Bird Stuffer to the Royal Family and various Museums, 426, Oxford-street.
- GASS, S. H. & D., Manufacturing Silversmiths and Jewellers, 166, Regent-street.
- GATES, T., Gold and Silver Leaf, and Gold Beaters' Skin Manufacturer, 24, Vine-street, Hatton Garden.
- GATTI, A. & G., Manufacturers of Preparations for Artificial Florists, 20, Coppice-row, Clerkenwell, and 28 and 29, Bridge-road, Lambeth.
- GEHLARD, ROTTMAX, & Co., Agents to Foreign Manufacturers, 83, Hatton-garden.
- GIBBONS, ABEL, Feather Bed, Mattress and Palliase Manufacturer—the Trade supplied with every description of Purified Bed Feathers, Wool, Hair, and Flock, at the lowest prices—13, Leman-street, Whitechapel.
- GILBERT, J. A., & Co., Grocers' Canister and Fancy Tea-Box Manufacturers, and General Japanners, 18, Dorrington-street, Clerkenwell.
- GODDARD, J. A., Custom House, Shipping, Colonial, Foreign, and Commission Agent. Merchandise, Works of Art, Wines, Baggage, &c., forwarded and received to and from all parts of the world. 65, Lower Thames-street, opposite the Custom House.
- GODDARD, T., General Agent & Outfitter, 146, Cheapside.
- GOODBEHERE & Co., Wholesale and Export Ironmongers, Iron and Brass Founders, Ship Smiths, Tinmen and Braziers; Manufacturers of Troop, Emigrant, and Ships' Fire Hearths, 9, Wellclose-square.
- GOODE & BOLAND, Gold and Silver Chain Manufacturers, 59, Hatton-garden, and Birmingham.
- GOSLETT, A., Wholesale Looking Glass Manufacturer, Crown, Sheet, Patent Plate, and Ornamental Glass Merchant, 26, Soho-square.
- GOWLAND, J., Inventor, Patentee, and Manufacturer of the Concentric Spring Impulse Escapement Chronometers, Watches, and Clocks, Leathersellers'-buildings, and 52, London-wall.
- GOY, EVANS, & Co., General Outfitters, 175, Piccadilly, and 24 and 25, Cornhill.
- GRAHAM, J., Woollen Draper, Shirt Maker, Hosier, and Outfitter, 179, High-street, Edinburgh.
- GRAY, R., (from Collards,) Patent Pianoforte Manufacturer, with Metallic Plate, (for extreme climates,) 39, Edward-street, Hampstead-road.
- GRAY, T. W., Hydraulic Engineer, Brass and Iron Founder, Brazier, Plumber, &c., 79, King William-street.
- GREENHILL, C., Morocco-Case and Watch Material Manufacturer, 12, Gt. Sutton-street, Clerkenwell.
- GREENWOOD, T., Church, Turret, House, and Musical Clock Manufacturer, 5, St. James's-walk, Clerkenwell.
- GRIMOLDI & STOPPANI, Barometer, Thermometer, and Sympiesometer Manufacturers, 31, Brook-street, Holborn.
- GROVER, J., Army Contractor, High-street, Chatham.
- GULL, J. W., Ship and Insurance Broker, 4, Brabant-court, Philpot-lane.
- GUTTERIDGE & Co., Carriage Builders for Home Use or Exportation to all Climates, 29, Davies-street, Berkeley-square.
- HACKETT, W., Billiard and Bagatelle Table Manufacturer in Slate or Wood; Maces, Cues, Balls, and Billiard Cloths of superior quality—22, Acton-st., Gray's-inn-rd.
- HALL, BROTHERS, Merchants, Shipowners, and Brokers, 2, Riches-court, Lime-street.
- HALL & Co., Patentees of the Leather Cloth, or Pannus Corium Boots and Shoes, peculiarly soft and easy for tender feet, Wellington-street, Strand, leading to Waterloo-bridge.
- HALLORAN, Mr., Collegiate School, Tavistock-road, Plymouth.
- HAMPDEN & Co., General Commission and British and Foreign Patent Agents, &c., 448 West-strand, London.
- HANCOCK, H., Shipping Butcher—N.B. Shipping supplied with Live Stock, Compressed Hay, &c.—79, Minories.
- HARDWIDGE, J., Needlemaker, 172, Long-lane, Bermondsey.
- HARRIS & SON, Mathematical Instrument Manufacturers, 50, Holborn.
- HILL, J. V., Wholesale Saw, Plane, and Tool Manufacturer; Emigrants, Merchants, and Shippers supplied at wholesale prices, 5, Chichester-place, Gray's-inn-road.
- HARRIS, R., & Co., Furniture and Bedding Manufacturers, 124 and 125, High Holborn.
- HARRIS, W., Manufacturer, Selector, and Tuner of Patent Pianofortes to suit all Climates, with all the latest improvements—37, Thanet-street, Burton-crescent.
- HART, J. T., Coach, Harness, and Engine-hose Currier, 16, Union-street East, Spitalfields.
- HARTILL & LOCKINGTON (from Broadwood's), Pianoforte Makers, with Metallic Plates for extreme climates, 41, Kenton-street, Brunswick-square.
- HARTREE, W. T., Export Cooper, &c., 7, Charlotte-row, Bermondsey.
- HARTSHORNE, G., jun., Iron Merchant and Manufacturer of Chain Cables, Anchors, &c., 12, Little Tower-street, London, and Stourbridge, Worcestershire.
- HAWKINS, J., Engineer and Smith in general, Hatfield-street, Stamford-street.
- HAWKINGS, J., Plate and Looking-glass Warehouse, 5, Albion-place, Blackfriars Bridge.
- HAWKINGS, J., Wholesale Stationer, 5, Albion-place, Blackfriars Bridge.
- HAYES, J., Surgeon-Dentist and Cupper, 42, St. Martin's-lane, Charing-cross.
- HEARN, J., Refiner and Dealer in Gold and Silver Ores and Metals, 11, Jerusalem-passage, Clerkenwell.

- HEMSLEY & Co., Sextant (wholesale and export), Quadrant, Telescope, Barometer, Thermometer, Drawing Instruments, and Compass Manufacturers, 140, St. George-Street, late Ratcliffe-highway.
- HENNEWAY, W., Merchant, Exeter.
- HEPTINSTALL, W., Gun Manufacturer to the Hon. Board of Ordnance and the Hon. East India Company, 18, Swan-street, Minorities.
- HETLEY, J., & Co., Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Glass Shades for Clocks, &c., Looking-glass Manufacturers, Crown, Sheet, and General Window Glass Merchants, 35, Soho-square.
- HEWITT, J., Wholesale Watch Glass Manufacturer, Ballymacarrett, Belfast.
- HEWLETT, A. H., Manufacturer of genuine Liquid Hair Dye free from Smell; and skin, gauze, and transparent Partings for Wigs, Fronts, Scalps, &c., 5, Burlington Arcade, Piccadilly.
- HILL, J., Manufacturing Goldsmith and Gold Chain Maker, 6, St. James's-walk, Clerkenwell.
- HILL & STONE, Coach Builders and Harness Makers, 20 and 21, Little Moorfields, and 49, London Wall.
- HILL, JOS., Wholesale and Export Whip Manufacturer, 86, Long-lane, West Smithfield.
- HODGE & ROBERTS, Manufacturers of every description of Candle, Oil, and Gas Lamps, Gas Fittings, Lamp Shades, Indian and Etruscan Lamps, Hall Lanterns, Wax and Stearine Candles, &c., for exportation, 101, Hatton-garden.
- HODGE & SONS, Manufacturers of Steam-engine Boilers, Tanks, Pans, &c., Oak-lane, Limehouse.
- HOE, R., Trunk, Chest, and Packing Case Manufacturer; Cases lined with Tin, Zinc, or Copper; Bullock and Overland Trunks, and Tin Boxes for India—44, Leadenhall-street.
- HOLDERNESSE and HOLDERNESSE, Pianoforte Manufacturers (for extreme climates), 444, New Oxford-st., Bloomsbury.
- HOLLANDS, D. F., Jun., Wharfinger and Coal Merchant, Bermondsey-wall.
- HOLLIS, G., Pewterer and Manufacturer of Worms, Stills, Refrigerators, Soda Water and Beer Machines, Pots, &c., 27, Crown-street, Finsbury-square.
- HOLMAN, E. W., Pianoforte Maker for Home use or Exportation to extreme Climates, 10, Grafton-st., Fitzroy-sq.
- HOLMAN, J., Manufacturer of Pianofortes adapted for all Climates, 43, London-street, Fitzroy-square.
- HUNTER, R., Manufacturer of the celebrated Deal Waterproof Coats, Seamen's Suits, South-westerns, &c., Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation, 145, Ratcliff Highway.
- HOOLE, W., Steel, Metal, File, and Tool Merchant, (Sheet-Steel for Engraving Plates,) Rolled Brass and German Silver—Brass, German Silver, and Tin Tubes—Brass and German Silver Castings, Melting Pots, Clock Materials, &c., 21, St. James's-walk, Clerkenwell.
- HORNE, R., Paper Hanging Manufacturer, House Painter and Decorator—Export Orders promptly executed—41, Gracechurch-street.
- HORSLEY, J. T., (late R. Richards & Son), Wholesale and Export Ironmonger—bar, hoop, rod, and sheet iron—95, New Park-street, Borough.
- HOTCHKIN and MOBBS, Ship and Insurance Agents, 3, East India Chambers, Leadenhall-street.
- HOUGHIN, J. W., Engineer, Lathe, Press, and Tool Maker, Improved Cap Peak, Embossing, Cutting, and Sawing Machines, Embossing and Cutting Presses, Cutters for Envelopes, Shoes, &c., 53, Borough-road.
- HOUE, Draper, Knaresborough.
- HOVENDEN, R., Wholesale Perfumer, 57 and 58, Crown-street, Finsbury.
- HOWARTH, H., Chemical Works, near Accrington.
- HOY, J., & Co., Wine and Spirit Merchants, 6, Store-lane, Belfast.
- HUBBACK & SON, Patentees of the White Zinc Paint, combining Health, Elegance, Durability, and Economy, 115, Upper East Smithfield, opposite the London Docks.
- HUMPHREYS, J., Furniture Japanner, 40, Seward-street, Goswell-street.
- HUNT, E., Wholesale and Retail Watch Material, Tool, and Movement Dealer, 21, Ironmonger-street, St. Luke's.
- HUNT, G. A., Feather Bed and Mattress Manufacturer, 1, Weston-place, King's-cross (Established 1826).
- HUNTER, J., Merchant, 110, Fenchurch-street.
- HURLEY, J. & Co., Commission Agents, 1, Riches-court, Lime-street.
- HYAM, L., & Co., Merchant Tailors, Clothiers, and Outfitters 36, Gracechurch-street, and 86, Oxford-street.
- HYAM, M. & S., Wholesale and Export Clothiers, 9 and 10, King-street, Cheap-side.
- HYDROMAGEN INDIA RUBBER WATER PROOF CLOTHING COMPANY'S India Rubber Boots, Shoes, and Goloshes for riding, shooting, and fishing—Manufactory, 18, Houndsditch.
- INGRAM, J. Export Upholsterer, 29, City-road.
- JACKSON, W. G., Distillery, Dockhead, Bermondsey.
- JACOBS & SON, Plain and Cut Glass Manufacturers, Wholesale and for Exportation, 64, Crown-street, Finsbury.
- JACOBS & TOWERS, Carvers, Gilders, & Wholesale Looking Glass Manufacturers, 56, Mansell-st. Goodman's fields.
- JACKSON & GRAHAM, Upholsterers, Cabinetmakers, Interior Decorators, & Carpet Manufacturers, 37 & 38, Oxford-st.
- JAMRACK, J. C., Naturalist, Fixed Agent to the Zoological Society at Amsterdam, 164, Ratcliff-highway.
- JAVENS, J., Ornamental Japanner, and Manufacturer of Grocers' Canisters, Fancy Boxes, Bowls, Tea-trays, &c., 13, Coldbath-square, Clerkenwell.
- JEFFERIES & Co., Patentees and Manufacturers of Wet and Dry-weather Ploughs, Patent Portable Smith's Forges, Cart Arms, Boxes, Caps, &c., Grove Foundry, Guildford-street, Southwark.
- JENKINS, A., Carver, Gilder, Wholesale and Export Looking-Glass and Picture Frame Manufacturer, 46, Goswell-street.
- JENKINS, W. S., Engraver and Printer, 52, Mansell-street-Goodmansfields.
- JENKINSON, W., Saddler, Home & Export Harness and Saddle Manufacturer, 44, London Wall, City.
- JERRAM, G. T., Soap Manufacturer, General Perfumery and Fancy Brush Warehouse, 69, Hatton-garden.
- JOHNSON, H., Builder and Contractor, 46, Hatton-garden.
- JONES, H., Gas Meter Manufacturer, 44, Old-street, St. Luke's.
- JONES, G., Diamond Worker and Jeweller, 20, Baker-street, Bagnigge Wells-road, Clerkenwell.
- JONES, J. C. & Co., Manufacturers of Pianofortes expressly for Foreign Climates, &c., 21B, Soho-square.
- JONES, ORLANDO & Co., the Original Patentees of Rice Starch, 15, College-street, Dowgate-hill.
- JOWETT, J., Floor-cloth Manufacturer, Japanned folding Screens, Table Covers, Painted Cloths, &c., 532, New Oxford-street.
- KAIN, J. J., Chemist and Druggist, Medicine Chests fitted for all Climates on the most reasonable terms, 9, Parker's-row, Bermondsey, opposite the Catholic Chapel.
- KAY, J., Broker, 150, Fenchurch-street.
- KELSEY, J., Builder, Contractor, Bricklayer, & Mason, Paradise-row, Rotherhithe.
- KENNARD, A. W., Cork Manufacturer for Exportation, 117, Minorities.
- KENYON, T., Chemical Works, Newton Bank.
- KENYON, T. & Co., Manufacturing Chemists, Newton Bank; Chemical Works, Miles Platting, near Manchester.
- KIDSTON, W. & Co., Medical and General Shop Fixture and Glass Manufacturers, 18, Bishopsgate-st. Without.
- KUMPF & ECKENSTEIN, General Merchants, 12, Mark-lane.
- LAMB, J., Wholesale Looking-Glass Manufacturer for Home and Exportation, 59, Curtain-road, Shoreditch.
- LAMBERT, T. & SON, Founders and Machinists, Manufacturers of Block Tin and Lead Pipe; Hydraulic, Steam and Gas Apparatus; Patentees of the Flexible Diaphragm Water Valves, Self-acting Water-closets, and Carter's Safety Gas Valves, Short-street, New-cut, Lambeth.
- LAMBERT, J., Bed Pillar, Bedstead, Cornice and Cabinet Manufacturer, 17, Winchester-place, Southwark Bridge-road.
- LAMPLOUGH, H., Retail and Shipping Chemist, sole Manufacturer of the Effervescent Pyretic Saline, 88, Snow-hill.
- LANKSHEAR, T., Pocket Book Manufacturer, 18, Seckford-street, Clerkenwell.
- LANSDALL, T., Tailor, Clothier, and, Outfitter, 327, High Holborn.
- LATHAM, J., Wholesale and Export Pianoforte Manufacturer, 28, Howland-street, Fitzroy-square.
- LAUGHTON, J., Wholesale Export Boot and Shoe Manfr. and Warehouseman, 46, Mansell-street, Goodman's-fields.
- LAYTON, E., Patent Pianoforte Manufacturer, 121, St. John-street, Clerkenwell, and 18, Goulden-terrace, Islington.
- LE CEPELAIN, STEELE, & Co., Chief Patent Office, 123, Chancery-lane; Branch Offices in the Chief Towns at

- home and on the Continent. Prospectuses gratis on Personal Application or by Letter.
- LEE, T., Merchant and Manufacturer, 5, George-yard, Lombard-street, London, and Birmingham.
- LEES & BARNES, Brass and Iron Founders, and Manufacturers of all descriptions of Power Looms, and Machinery in general, Soho Iron Works, Greenacres-moor, near Manchester.
- LEFEBURE, T. P., Patentee of Boots and Shoes made by Steam, brass screws being used instead of stitches, 27, Cranbourn-street, Corner of St. Martin's-lane.
- LEMON (BROS.), Coffee and Spice Merchants, 12, Clerkenwell-close.
- LEONARD, T., Musical, Church, and Turret Clock Manufacturer, and Mechanician. Every description of Clocks and Machinery for Exportation, 50, Tabernacle-walk, Finsbury-square.
- LESSWARE, H., Copper-smith, Brazier, and Worm Maker, 24, Great Alie-street, Whitechapel.
- LEVESQUE, EDMENDES, & Co., Patent Pianoforte Makers, 40, Cheapside.
- LEVICK, (Brothers), Merchants, 9, King's Arms-yard, Coleman-street.
- LEVY, A., Merchant and Warehouseman, 103, Minories, and George-street, Sydney, New South Wales.
- LEVY, B., Cosmopolitan Clothing Establishment, Tailor, Woollendrapery, and Outfitter, 324 & 325, High Holborn.
- LEVY, J., Wholesale and Export Stationer, Account Book and Envelope Manufacturer, 94, Houndsditch.
- LIVERMORE & Co., Makers of the New Metallic Overcoats, Capes, &c., warranted perfectly free from smell, Waterproofers, and India Rubber Manufacturers, 30, Oxford-street.
- LOADER, J., Export Upholsterer, 23, Pavement, Finsbury.
- LOCK & Co., Dentists, guarantee to cure the Toothache instantly, 363, Oxford-street.
- LOCKYER, J., Metal, Steel, Wire, and Tool Warehouse, 23, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell.
- LORD, BROTHERS, General Machine Makers and Cotton Spinners, Canal-street Works, Tadmorden.
- LOUGH, LEWIS & Co., Gum, Drug, Drysaltery, and Colonial Merchants, 20A, Great St. Helen's.
- MCGLASHAN & FIELD, Manufacturers of every description of Machinery, Wholesale Brass Cock Foundry, Copper-smiths and Braziers, 16, Long-acre, and 19, Hart-street, Covent-garden.
- MACKIE, J. V., Rusk and Biscuit Manufacturer to the Queen, 108, Princes-street, Edinburgh.
- MAGNAY & BENNETT, Wholesale and Export Stationers, Thames-street.
- MAGNUS, G. E., Inventor and Patentee of Enamelled Slate Chimney-pieces, Inlaid Table and Workstand Tops, Mural Tablets and Monuments, Patentee and Manufacturer to Prince Albert and the Duke of Wellington, &c., of Slate Billiard Tables, with Slate Frame and Legs, Vendor of every description of Slate, plain and ornamental, 39 and 40, Upper Belgrave-place, Pimlico.
- MAGNUS, N., Wholesale and Export Boot, Shoe, and Leather Manufacturer, 13, Fore-street, Cripplegate.
- MANDER, C., Electro-Plater & Gilder, 14, Queen-street, Clerkenwell.
- MANKELOW & Co., J., Patent Pianoforte Manufacturer, for home use or exportation, 432, Oxford-street, and 12, Huntly-street, Bedford-square.
- MARR, W., Electro-Plater, 6, Albemarle-street, Clerkenwell.
- MARKS, A., Wholesale and Export Spring, Folding, and Paris Hat Manufacturer, 5, Houndsditch.
- MARSHALL & EDRIDGE, Ship and Insurance Brokers, 34, Fenchurch-street.
- MARTEN, W., Wholesale Watch Manufacturer (for all Climates), successor to Cragg Smith and Charles Smith, and established upwards of 150 years, 20, Bunhill-row.
- MARTIN, E., Boot, Shoe, and Golosh Maker, Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation, 3, Church-st., Rotherhithe.
- MARTIN, R., Cork Manufacturer, Importer of French and Spanish Corks, Corks in Bond for exportation, 20, Swan-st., Minories, and 16, John-st., Crutched-friars.
- MASTERS, T., Patentee of the Freezing Machines and Wine Coolers, Aërated Water Machines, Rotary Knife-cleaning Machines, Anti-Corrosive Self-Closing Taps, Cooking Apparatus, &c., 309, Regent-st., and 333, Oxford-st.
- MATTHEWS, S., (successor to Charles Mackintosh & Co.), Patentee of India-rubber Waterproof Cloths of double texture, Air Cushions, Pillows, &c., 58, Charing-cross.
- MAUGHFLING, J. S., Shipping Butcher, 14, New-road, St. George's-in-the-East.
- MAYES, J., Clock Manufacturer and Dealer in Clock Tools and Materials, 19, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell.
- MAYHEW & Co., Hat and Cap Manufacturers, 89, New Bond-street, Manufactory, Union-street, Southwark.
- MEASAM & Co., Medicated Cream Soap and Regenerative Carpet Soap Manufacturers, Patent Metal Seal Envelope, Note, and Letter Paper Makers, and General Stationers, 238, Strand, and 4, Castle-street, Holborn.
- MEDHURST, T., Manufacturer of Patent Weighing Machines, Scales and Weights, Ironfounder, and Engineer, 463, New Oxford-street.
- MEINIG, C., Importer and Manufacturer of fine Hones, genuine Turkey and other Oil Stones, Grindstones, &c., every description of Stones and Materials for grinding, sharpening, and polishing purposes, wholesale, retail, and export, 32, Southampton-street, Strand.
- MERRICK, R., Dressing and Jewellery Case, Writing and Travelling Desk Manufacturer, 57, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.
- METCALFE, BINGLEY, & Co., Brush and Comb Manufacturers and Sponge Merchants, by special appointment, to H.R.H. Prince Albert, 130, B, Oxford-street.
- MIDDLEMASS, J., Home and Foreign Outfitter—sends Lists with Prices, free on application, 18, South Bridge, Edinburgh.
- MILLAR, D. C., & Co., Engineers, 7, Borough-road.
- MILLARD, J., & SONS, Spectacle Makers and Opticians, 24, Coppice-row, Clerkenwell.
- MILLIKIN, J., Manufacturer of Surgical Instruments to the Royal Navy and the King's College—every description of Bandage, Elastic Lacing Stockings, Knee Caps, Trusses, Crutches, &c., &c.—161A, Strand.
- MILLS, J., Grand Pianoforte Manufacturer, 35, Cardington-street, Hampstead-road.
- MINTER, G., Patentee and Manufacturer of the Self-acting, Reclining, and Elevating Chairs, the Archimedean Screw ditto, the Improved Rising and Elevating Screw Frame for Dr. Edge's Spinal and Fracture Couch, and every description of Out-door Garden Wheel Chair, 51, Frith-street, Soho.
- MITCHELL, J., Steel Pen Manufacturer, 11, Queen-st., City.
- MOORE, J., & SONS, Church, Turret, and House Clock Manufacturers, 38 and 39, Clerkenwell-close.
- MORGAN, T., Wholesale Export and Furnishing Ironmonger, 11, Pancras-lane, City.
- MOSES, H. E. & M., Wholesale and Export Merchants, and Clothing Manufacturers, and Agents for the sale of Colonial Produce, 87, Tower-hill, City.
- MOSES, SON, & DAVIS, Merchants, Wholesale Clothiers, General Exporters, & Agents for the Sale of Colonial Produce, 14 & 15, Aldgate, High-street.
- MOSS, B., & Co., East London Plate and Sheet-Glass Company, Wholesale Manufacturers and Exporters of Looking-Glasses, 45, Leman-street, Goodman's-fields.
- MOTTRIE, W. F. C., Patent Pianoforte Manufacturer on his Newly Registered Designs, 4, King-street, Bloomsbury.
- MUNT, R., Coach Builder and Maker of Improved Easy Carriages for Invalids, Norwood, Surrey.
- MURCOTT, — Gun, Pistol, Rifle, and Air-gun Manufacturer, 503, New Oxford-street.
- NANNETTI, G., Statuary, and Artificial Stone Manufacturer and Moulder, 6, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin; and 18, York-street, Belfast.
- NASH, T., Jun., Wholesale and Export Brush Manufacturer, Inventor and sole Manufacturer of the Registered Improved Painters' Brush, 19, Swan-street, Dover-road, Southwark.
- NEAL, T., Steel Corn and Coffee Mill Maker, 45, St. John-street, Smithfield.
- NEGRETTI, H., Manufacturer of Glass Chemical Apparatus, 11, Hatton-garden.
- NEWING, T. R., Crown, Sheet, and Sheet Plate Glass Cutter, Pumps, Water-closets, Glass Tiles, Milk-pans, &c., Plumbers' Basins, Lead Pipes, &c., 129, Union-street, Borough.
- NEWMAN, JAS., Artists' Colourman, Drawing Paper and Pencil Manufacturer; every article used by the amateur and professional artist of the first quality—24, Soho-square.
- NEWTON, J. & G., Wholesale and Export Manufacturers of Enamelled Moleskin and Waterproof Coating, Grove-street, Walworth-common.

- NEWTON, J., & SON, Wholesale and Export Cork Manufacturers, 50 and 51, St. John-street, Smithfield.
- NICOLL, Court Hair Dresser, and Inventor of the Syrian Liquid Hair Dye, free from smell, warranted not to stain the skin, 2, Ryder's-court, Leicester-square.
- NORTON, J., Ornamental Tea Canister, Box, Bowl, and Vase Manufacturer, 25, Vine-street, Hatton-wall.
- NOSOTTI, C. A., Looking Glass Manufacturer and Interior Decorator, 388, Oxford-street.
- NOTLEY, H., Brush Manufacturer, 12, St. John's-lane, Clerkenwell.
- NOWELL, W. H., Wholesale and Export Brush and Painting-Brush Manufacturer, 7, Brick-lane, Whitechapel.
- OETZMANN & PLUMB, Patent Pianoforte Manufacturers, with Metallic Wrest Plank, and other improvements, for extreme Climates, 56, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, and Chenies-street, Bedford-square.
- OLIVER, A., Watch Motion Maker, 11, Ironmonger-street, St. Luke's.
- OLIVER & EDWARDS, Watch Case Manufacturers, 19, Galway-street, St. Luke's.
- ONKEN, C., Carriage and Harness Manufacturer for Home use and for Exportation to extreme climates, 2A, South-place, Finsbury; manufactory, 80, Leman-street, Whitechapel.
- OSBORN, Mr., Albion-school, York.
- OVERALL, S., Fish Factor, &c., 102, Lower Thames-street.
- OWEN, J., Wholesale and Export Trunk, Chest, Box, and Packing Case Manufacturer, 38, Minories.
- OWST & CO., Wood-hoop Merchants and Coopers, near Mill-stairs, Bermondsey.
- PAGET, R. G., Marquee and Tent Manufacturer, 40, West Smithfield.
- PARKER, FIELD, & SONS, Gun Makers to the Board of Ordnance, the East India, and Hudson's Bay Companies, 233, High Holborn.
- PARKER, R., Railway Contractor, Newchurch.
- PARKINS, J., & Co., Cheapside Coat Dépôt, 90, corner of Ironmonger-lane.
- PARKINSON & FRODSHAM, Chronometer and Watch Makers, Exchange-alley, Cornhill.
- PARNELL & BANNER, Ship and Insurance Brokers, 57, Gracechurch-street.
- PASMORE, J., Draper, &c., Exeter.
- PASTORELLI & Co., Wholesale and Export Opticians, 4, Cross-street, Hatton-garden.
- PATON & NEILSON, Wholesale Manufacturing Goldsmiths and Jewellers, 9, Upper Charles-street, Northampton-square.
- PATTEN, W. & Co., Window Glass, Sheet Lead, White Lead, Varnish & Colour Merchants, Old Fish st., Doctors' Commons; and 76, St. George-st., London Docks.
- PAUL & Co., Real Soda Water, Lemonade, Potash Water, and Ginger Beer Makers, Importers of German and Struve's Brighton Seltzer Waters, 5, Bow-st., Covent-garden.
- PEARS, A. & F., Soap Refiners, Inventors of the Transparent Soap, Manufacturing and Export Perfumers, 91, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury.
- PEARTREE, J., Cap, Cap Trimming, and Patent Elastic Mourning Hatbands; Manufacturers and Importers of French Velvets, and Mohair Plushes, 5, St. Mary Axe.
- PHILLIPS, L., Army and Navy Clothier, Hat, Cap, and Accoutrement Maker, Sword Cutler, Outfitter, Camp and Cabin Furniture Manufacturer, 28, Strand.
- PHILLIPS, O., & Co., Colonial Brokers, 91, Great Tower-st.
- PHILLIPS, W., Electro-Plater and Gilder, 17, Clerkenwell-green.
- PHILLIPPS & GRAVES, Lightermen, Ship Brokers, and Custom House Agents, 11, Rood-lane.
- PIHPFS, T., Saddler and Harness Manufacturer, 243, High Holborn.
- PIGGOTT, W., Army Clothier and Marquee Manufacturer, &c., 115, Fore-street.
- PIGGOTT, W. P., Patentee of the Galvanic Belt, by which a continuous current of electricity is made to circulate through the body, preventing rheumatism, sciatica, tic dolooureux, hysterics, dyspepsia, and lowness of spirits; improved Telescope Office, 523, New Oxford-st.
- PIPER, JNO., Wholesale Ironmonger, 47, Beech-st., Barbican.
- PITMAN, W., Wine Merchant, 150, Fenchurch-street.
- PITT, W., Wireworker, 15, Weymouth-place, New Kent-rd.
- PIZZALA, A., Wholesale and Export Optician, 19, Hatton-Garden.
- POCOCK, I., Leather Warchouses and Export Boot and Shoe Manufacturers, 20, 21, 22, 23, Southwark-bridge-road.
- POOLE, J., Chronometer Manufacturer and Inventor of an improved Compensation Balance, for equalizing the rates of Chronometers in the various changes of temperature, Wholesale and for Exportation, 1, Upper East Smithfield, and 31, Collet-place, Commercial-road East.
- PORTER, JAMES, Sail Maker and Ship Chandler, Fountain Stairs, Bermondsey.
- PORTER, R., Merchant, 22, East India Chambers.
- POULTON, T. A., (late Webb) Wholesale China and Glass Warehouse, 1, Freeschool-street, Horselydown.
- POWER, D. E., Merchant, 110, Fenchurch-street.
- POWIS, JAMES & Co., Wholesale and Export Ironmongers, Lock Manufacturers, and General Factors, 26, Watling-street, City.
- PRESTON & SON, Saw, Plane, and General Mechanical Tool Makers; emigrants, shippers, and merchants supplied; 5, Borough-road.
- PREWS, B., Great Metropolitan Wardrobe, 295, High Holborn, and 36 and 37, High-street, Aldgate.
- PRICE, C. W., Glass Bender, by appointment, to H.R.H. Prince Albert, Glass Stainer and Embosser, Manufacturer of Shades, Convex Glasses for Clocks, Figures, Barometers, &c., Railway Signal Glasses, Watch, Coloured Sheet, Ground, Dome, and Lotus Glasses, Lamp and Gas Chimneys of all kinds, wholesale, retail, and for exportation, 19 and 20, Clerkenwell-green.
- PRICE & WHITEHOUSE, Ironfounders, Phoenix Ironfoundry, Grove, Great Guildford-st., Southwark.
- PRICE, T., Sole Patentee, Inventor, and Manufacturer of the improved Knife and Fork Cleaning Machine, Washing, Ironing, and Mincing Machines, and a variety of other useful articles, 33, Wardour-street, Soho.
- PRYOR, S. & T., Umbrella Manufacturers, 43, Holborn-hill.
- QUINTON, J., Carriage Builder for private use or Exportation, 1, Cottage-place, City-road.
- RAND & Co., Patent Collapsible Tube Manufacturers for Artists' Colours, 24A, Cardington-street, Hampstead-rd.
- RATCLIFFE, J., China, Glass, and Staffordshire Warehouse, shipping supplied on the lowest terms, 3, Heath-place, Commercial-road East.
- READ, R., Instrument Maker, (by special appointment), to Her Majesty and the Hon. East India Company, Patentee of the Stomach Pump, Enema Fountain, &c., &c., 35, Regent-circus, Piccadilly.
- READ, S., Account-book Manufacturer, Wholesale and Export Stationer, 95, London-wall.
- RICHARDSON & Co., Patentees of Lockhead's Perforated Glass Scuttle for Ship Ventilation, and Perforated Glass Ventilators for Houses and other buildings, 35, Royal Exchange, and 473, New Oxford-street.
- RICHARDSON, E., Ship and Insurance Agent, East India Chambers.
- RICHARDSON, R., Portable House, Marquee, Rick Cloth, and Wire Fence Maker, 21, Tonbridge-place, New-road.
- RILEY, W. C., & Co., Provision Merchants and Dealers in Bonded Stores, 189, St. George's-st., St. George's, East.
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- RING & CONQUEST, Tin, Iron, and Japan Ware Manufacturers, 22, Banner-street, St. Luke's.
- RITCHIE & BOND, Warehousemen, 61, St. Paul's Church-yard.
- ROBERTS, J., Importer of Colonial Produce, 31, Barbican.
- ROBERTS'S Fashionable Tailoring, Clothing, and General Outfitting Mart, 65, Shoreditch, corner of Church-st.
- ROBINSON, J., & Co., Outfitters, 3 and 6, Nassau-place, Commercial-road, East.
- RODDY, R., Linen Manufacturer, Donegal-street, Belfast.
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- ROGERS, H., Pianoforte Manufacturer, 63, Warren-street, Fitzroy-square.
- ROGERS, J. & SON, Patent Pianoforte Makers, with Metallic Plate, and all the Modern Improvements for extreme climates—Merchants and Shippers supplied—27, Southampton-mews, and 67, George-street, Euston-square.
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- ROSS & SONS, Hair-cutters, Dyers, and Peruke Makers to the Royal Family.—Importers of all Foreign, and Manufacturers of English Perfumery, Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation.—119 & 120, Bishopsgate-street Within.
- ROSSITER, J., Wholesale Trunk, Portmanteau and Portable Cabin Furniture Manufacturer, Bullock and Overland Trunks for India, 15, Greville-street, Hatton-garden.
- ROSENTHAL, L. S., Professor of Languages, 355, Oxford-st.
- ROWED, R., Pianoforte Manufacturer, 1½, William-street, Hampstead-road.
- ROYAL LETTERS PATENT OFFICE, (Hours from 10 to 4,) the Official Prospectus forwarded on application to Mr. Weatherdon, 77, Chancery-lane.
- RUMNEY, R., Manufacturing Chemist, Ardwick, Manchester.
- RUSSELL, J. & Co., Manufacturers of Patent Gas Tubes and Fittings, and Lapwelded Tubes for Locomotive and Marine Boilers, also Manufacturers of Sheet Iron, 69, Upper Thames-st.; Works at Wednesbury, Staffordshire.
- SAMUEL, H. S., Colonial Broker, 133, Fenchurch-street.
- SANDER, G. B., Glass and China Warehouse, Dinner, Desert, Breakfast, and Tea Services of every kind, and a large Stock for the purpose of matching. The first quality of Stourbridge Table Glass, richly and plainly cut Lustres, Lamps, Lanthorns, Paper Tea-trays, &c., 319, High Holborn, opposite Gray's Inn.
- SANDERS, C., Gold Refiner, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell.
- SANDS & OUTRAM, Fashionable Tailors, Patentees of the Resilient or Spring-band Trousers, (Registered 1850.) which supersede the use of braces; peculiarly adapted for Warm Climates, and for Naval and Military Officers, Sportsmen, and others, 19, Holborn-hill.
- SATCHELL, T., Export Hat Manufacturer, 158, Fenchurch-st.
- SAUNDERS, G., Inventor of the Metallic Four-sided Tablet and Razor Strop, and recommended by the first cutlers. Gentlemen invited to bring a razor and see the effect. Dépôt, 278, Strand.
- SAVAGE, J. & H., Manufacturers of Iron Bedsteads, Fencing Hurdles, Gates, Verandahs, and Plate Work, 3, Holland-street, Blackfriars.
- SCOTT, J., Mathematical and Nautical Instrument Maker, 17, Bermondsey-wall, opposite Fountain Dock.
- SCOTT, P., Outfitter of every description of Dress suitable for India, China, Australia, Port Natal, New Zealand, &c., ready made or to order, 9, South Bridge, Edinburgh.
- SCOTT, W., Gun & Pistol Maker, 33, Leman-st. Whitechapel.
- SCOVELL, G., Gold and Silver Thread Manufacturer, 29, Clerkenwell-close.
- SCROXTON, J. H., Tin-Plate Worker and Ornamental Joiner, Manufacturer of Tea Canisters, Tobacco and Snuff Jars, Fancy Tea Bowls and Boxes, 137, Bishopsgate-street Without, near Sun-street.
- SELMAN, J. M., Tailor, &c., Naval and Military Outfits, Liveries, &c., 20, Upper Baker-street, Regent's-park.
- SENIOR, J., Importer of Colonial Produce, 44, King's-road, East, Chelsea.
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- SERCOMBE, J. C., Merchant, Exeter.
- SEWELL, EVANS, HUBBARD, & BACON, Silk Mercers, Drapers, and Carpet Manufacturers, 44, 5, 6, Old Compton-street, and 46, & 7, Frith-street, Soho.
- SILARPUS, J. W., China and Glass Warehouse, Parian Breakfast and Tea Services and Art Union Statuettes, 35, Oxford-street.
- SHAW, FREDERICK F., Wholesale Ironmonger, Grindstone and Tool Merchant, 253, Blackfriars-road.
- SHAW, L., Collar Manufacturer, 8, Ropemaker-st., Finsbury.
- SHAW, JOSEPH, Piano Manufacturer, 87, Hatton-garden.
- SHEPPARD, J., Draper, &c., Exeter.
- SHERWIN, J., Ironfounder, Smith, & Range Maker, Steam and Hot-water Apparatus, Manufacturer of the Improved Patent Economic Range, 61, Tabernacle-walk, Finsbury.
- SHOOLBRED, JAS., & Co., Drapers and Warehousemen, Tottenham-court-road.
- SHOVE, G., Patentee and Manufacturer of Silicated Marble, Textural Glass, &c., Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation, 488, New Oxford-street.
- SHUTER, L., Wood-Hoop Merchant and Cooper, Shad Thames, Southwark.
- SIMPSON, W. & Co., British Gum Manufacturers, Manchester.
- SINCLAIR, C., Glass Chandelier and Lustre Manufacturer, 69, Old-street, St. Luke's.
- SIRR, W., Mills, Kirby, Moorside.
- SKENE, J., Wine Merchant, North-street, Belfast.
- SKINNER, S., Clothier and Outfitter, 18, Aldgate High-street; and 13, Queen's-buildings, Knightsbridge.
- SMALE & SON, Manufacturers of Improved Mineral Teeth, General Dental Dépôt, 187, High Holborn.
- SMART JUN., W., Composition Ornament Manufacturer, 18, Crown-street, Finsbury.
- SMITH, J., Gas Fitter & Brass Finisher, 8, Charterhouse-lane.
- SMITH, J., Inventor and Sole Manufacturer of the Patent Adhesive Envelope, requiring neither wax nor wafer, Manufacturing Stationer, Engraver, and Printer, 42, Rathbone-place.
- SMITH & SONS, Manufacturers of every description of Church and House Clocks, Office Dials and Time Pieces, Watch and Clock Glasses, Cases, Materials, &c., and General Brass Founders, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell (next the Church), and at Birmingham.
- SMITH, W., Gas Meter Manufacturer, 66, Snow-hill.
- SOMERVELL & BURR, Leather Merchants, 34, Noble-st., City.
- SOMALVICO, J., & Co., Opticians and Nautical Instrument Makers, 2, Hatton-garden.
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- SPALDING & HODGE, Wholesale Stationers, 145, 146, and 147, Drury-lane.
- SPARKS, G., Colonial Sack and Bag Maker, Russia Mat Warehouse, and Importer of Scotch Sheetings, Hessians, &c., 21, Swan-street, Minorities.
- SPARKS, W. J., Pianoforte Maker and Tuner—Instruments repaired, exchanged, and lent on hire—44, George-street, Euston-square.
- SPEARMAN, J., Gun Maker and Gun Stock Manufacturer, 25 and 26, Chambers-street, Goodmans-fields.
- SPENCER, E., & Co., Waterproof Clothiers for all Climates, and suited for all occupations by sea and land, 116, Fenchurch-street, opposite Mark-lane.
- SPILL, G., Waterproof Clothing manufacturer, 65, 66, and 67, St. George-street, and 127, High-street, Shadwell.
- SPRINGWEILER, A., Medicine Chest and Portable Desk and Dressing Case Manufacturer, 2, Duke-street, West Smithfield.
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Dreading the curse which money can buy out,"

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WHY IS A REPEAL OF THE EXCISE DUTY ON PAPER DEMANDED ?

FOR THE FOLLOWING AMONG OTHER WEIGHTY REASONS :

1st. It has been proved by incontestible evidence, that taxes upon manufactures are especially injurious to the community, as they increase the cost to the consumer, and consequently limit the demand, thereby interfering with the regular and profitable employment of capital and labour. This principle, which applies particularly to the paper manufacture, has been recognised of late years in our commercial policy, and the government has removed various fiscal burthens which were pressing heavily upon the home manufactures. The duties upon foreign woods, upon glass, leather, bricks, and other articles, have been repealed on this ground. A striking example of the length to which this policy has been carried is afforded in the repeal of the duty, which was at one time imposed, of the five-sixteenths of a penny upon raw cotton. The duty was abolished, because it was shown that even this trifling tax interfered most injuriously with the cotton manufacture. Thus, while the raw material, of which cotton fabrics are made, is relieved from a duty amounting to only five per cent. upon its actual value, the refuse of the cotton-mills, which is almost worthless for any other purpose, but which is used very extensively in the manufacture of paper, is subjected to a duty of 300 per cent. upon its value. The following reasons will show, that if a duty on raw cotton is objectionable, the duty on paper is equally bad in principle.

2nd. The duty interferes most vexatiously and injuriously with the manufacturer. The regulations necessary to enable the Excise-officer to collect the duty involve delay, trouble, expense, and risk. The presence and surveillance of a public officer is compulsory. The Paper-maker, on commencing business, has to make a formal application to the Excise-office in order that his premises may be surveyed, and that every room in which he purposes to conduct his business, and every implement and utensil used in the different processes, may be numbered and duly entered. He is liable to a heavy penalty (£200) for every unentered room, and every unentered implement. For every label lost or improperly used there is a penalty of £10, and all the penalties may be incurred through inadvertence, or through the ignorance and carelessness of a servant. The delay to which the manufacturer is subjected is no slight inconvenience. By the Provisions of the Act, forty-eight hours must elapse after the paper is ready for the market before it can leave the mill. Mr. Crompton, of Farnworth, says, "*This time is sufficient for him to purchase the rags in Manchester, carry them to his mill at Farnworth, manufacture them into paper, and convey the article ready for the market to any part of the kingdom.*" This could no doubt be done were it not for the duty. Mr. Baldwin, another manufacturer, says, "*It costs me above £100 per annum to help to charge myself with the duty. I make about twelve tons a-week, and, in consequence of the Excise Laws, have to weigh every ream four times over, besides taking the number of every ream and writing the name on each.*" Why should any body of men be subject to such risk, delay, detention, and loss?

3rd. The duty, by limiting the consumption, as a matter of course restricts the field of employment. The tax upon paper is a tax upon labour. There is no other article upon the manufacture of which so much is spent upon labour and so little upon material—the material being nearly valueless. It is computed that there are 40,000 persons engaged immediately in the paper trade, and as most, if not all, of these have others dependent upon them, there will be probably not less than 160,000 of the population sustained by the paper trade. There is no article of manufacture which affords so many and such varied employments as that of paper. Besides those engaged in the mills, there are a great many other employments interested; and it has been fairly calculated, that not less than 320,000 persons are dependent upon the paper trade for their daily bread; and if bookbinders, ink-makers, gold-beaters, leather-merchants, and others engaged in fancy trades, are included, it may safely be asserted that above 500,000 persons have their employments affected by the duty on paper. Mr. Baldwin said, at a meeting of the Town Council at Birmingham, that were the duty repealed within a year of that time, he could employ 500 more hands.

4th. The duty upon paper increases the price to the public of an article of all but universal consumption. Some merchants, for the purpose of wrapping and re-wrapping goods, use as much as twenty tons of paper every year, so that the tax upon a consumer to that extent amounts to £300 per annum. There are large retail grocers, and others, who use from £100 to £200 worth of paper every year; and as the common paper used by them is about £35 per ton, they pay £15 per ton, or nearly one-half the total cost, in duty. Then, again, in the manufacture of articles of which paper forms a part—the consumer has to pay duty upon the waste. For example, in the case of Florentine buttons, above one-half of the pasteboard out of which the buttons are cut is waste. The duty has to be paid upon the pasteboard as it comes from the manufacturer. In the making of paper fancy boxes, and in other articles made from paper and pasteboard, there is much unavoidable waste, and the duty of 1½d. per pound has to be paid upon it.

5th. The duty on paper offers a premium to foreign manufacturers of paper, and articles made from paper. In Paris there are not less than 30,000 females employed in the manufacture of pasteboard boxes. And these, enclosing various fancy wares, are sent into the British ports, and from thence into the British colonies, thus superseding the Home manufacture. It has been shown that pasteboard boxes, of which great quantities are used for various purposes, can be imported from Paris, and after paying the import duty (not amounting to one-half of the tax paid by the Home manufacturer), undersell those made in London. The repeal of the duty would stimulate our Home trade, as the consumption of these articles now referred to might be increased to an indefinite extent.

6th. The duty upon paper is a tax upon newspapers, periodicals, and books, and presses heavily upon those who are publishing popular works. Mr. Charles Knight published a national work, "*The Penny Cyclopædia*," without any profit to himself. He paid in Paper Duty for that work £16,500; indirectly not less than 29,000. The duty swallowed up that which ought to have remunerated the publisher. Another instance is that of the "*Miscellany of Tracts*," published by the Messrs. Chambers. The sale reached 80,000 copies, which was not sufficient to justify their continuance of the work. This work paid not less than £5,000 in Paper Duty, which, if left in the hands of the publishers, would have compensated them for the trouble, labour, and skill employed, and encouraged them to continue its publication. This firm pays not less than £3,000 a year in duty for the works now published by them. Mr. John Cassell, who is publishing a library for the working-classes, and a weekly periodical, "*The Working Man's Friend*," says that for every 100,000 of the latter he pays £30 to the Government in the shape of duty, and in various ways pays nearly £3,000 per annum. The *Times* newspaper pays £16,300 a year as Paper Tax, and others in proportion. While the Government are professing great anxiety about the education of the people, is it not strange that so important a means of diffusing knowledge should be taxed, and that the school-books from which the child learns its lessons, and the periodical from which the artisan gathers amusement and instruction, should be increased in price by so impolitic a tax.

7th. The Paper Duty affects in a peculiar manner the first producer of books, the author; and thus a highly useful class of men are injured to a serious extent. The community are interested in bringing into the fields of literature the best men and the greatest minds in the country. They have to cater for the public taste. If the publisher is released from the Paper Duty, he will have more to pay to authors, and the profession of authorship, when better encouraged, will more readily engage men of the highest talents and attainments.

8th. The repeal of the Paper Duty would prevent a variety of frauds and evasions, which are now practised to the injury of the fair trader. It would also remove difficulties which stand in the way of the Excise-office in discriminating the different articles which are not subject to duty from the peculiar mode of their manufacture. A paper, for instance, is made from straw, the raw material of which costs 2s. per cwt., and pays 11s. 9d. duty. Another fabric of a similar kind is made from material in the dry state, and escapes the duty. Several imitations are now made, increasing the difficulty of properly levying the duty.

9th. The repeal of the duty would remove impediments at present existing in the way of the designer and manufacturer of various fancy and ornamental fabrics. Mr. Ker, of Paisley, who intends to compete in the shawl manufacture at the forthcoming Exhibition, applied to the Lords of the Treasury for a drawback of the Excise duty on the card boards he would use in the preparation of his designs. The cost would be £270, the sum for duty out of which would be £92 15s. His foreign competitors would be exempt from this charge. In many cases considerable sums are spent upon experiments, and duty paid upon the material, thus fixing an impost upon skill and ingenuity.

10th. In the words of Mr. Crompton, "*The remission of this duty is, therefore, pressed upon the attention of the Legislature for reasons more tangible, more important, and more fruitful of advantages, than the repeal of any tax which was ever submitted to their consideration.*" In the first place, there is a Financial Surplus; it has a priority of claim to repeal, the effect of which would be to increase the manufacture; the tax is unequal in its pressure upon Paper as compared with other manufactures; it is unjust and oppressive to the fair and honest trader; the Repeal would give an immense amount of additional healthy employment to Labour; would confer important social and moral advantages upon the Population; and it would give relief to Agricultural Districts. More than sufficient has therefore been shown for the Repeal of the Duty, not on behalf of the Paper Manufacturers, nor of the Printers and Publishers, nor of the Manufacturing interest only, but on behalf of every Man, Woman, and Child, interested in the welfare and prosperity of Great Britain."

ISLANDS IN THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC.

BOOK I.—VAN DIEMEN'S ISLAND.

CHAPTER I.

LOCALITY, AREA, DISCOVERY, AND HISTORY.

VAN DIEMEN'S ISLAND, sometimes called *Tasmania*, is separated from the island-continent of Australia by an arm of the sea, about 100 miles broad, termed Bass Strait. In shape resembling a heart, it extends between the parallels of $40^{\circ}45'$ and $43^{\circ}40'$ S. lat., and the meridian $144^{\circ}50'$ and $148^{\circ}30'$ E. long. The length, from South Cape to Cape Grim, is about 230 miles; the breadth, from the Eddystone Point, on the east coast, to West Point, is nearly 200 miles, gradually diminishing to the south point or apex of the island. The area is nearly 24,000 square miles, or about 15,000,000 acres.

This fine island was discovered by the celebrated Dutch navigator Abel Jansz Tasman, who sailed from Batavia, in Java, on the 14th of August, 1642, as commodore of the yacht *Heemskerck*, and the fly-boat *Zeechaan*, with instructions to ascertain how far the "great south land" extended towards the Antarctic Circle.

Tasman touched at the Mauritius, then steered to the southward and eastward, and on the 4th of November, at four P.M., saw high land, distant about forty miles. On the ensuing evening the commodore closed in with the shore, in $42^{\circ}30'$ S. lat., and designated the country *Antony Van Diemen's Land*, in honour of the governor-general of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies. The islands around were named after the different members of the council of the Indies. The vessels skirted the coasts; and on the 29th of November, when preparing to enter a large inlet in the south-east shores, they were driven almost out of sight of land by a violent gale of wind. December 1st, the wind moderated, a council of officers from the two vessels was held, and it was resolved to attempt "to get a knowledge of the land, and some refreshments." The

vessels stood in with an easterly breeze, and came to an anchor, an hour after sunset, "in a good port, in twenty-two fathoms, whitish good holding sand." To the entry which records these facts is added, in the journal of these pious navigators, "*wherefore we ought to praise Almighty God.*"

This port is called *Frederik Hendrik's Bay*, in the chart of Tasman. The Dutchmen remained here until the 4th of December, erected a post with a compass cut thereon, and surmounted it with "the prince's flag, as a memorial to the posterity of the inhabitants of the country;" then proceeding in a north-east course along the coast, on the 5th of December they steered "precisely eastward, to make farther discoveries," conformable to a resolution of the council held that morning. The next land seen by Tasman was New Zealand, to which reference will be made when describing that country. The result of this voyage was not made public by the Dutch East India Company; but Dirk Rembrantz, "moved by the excellency and accuracy of the work," published in Low Dutch an extract of the Journal of Tasman. This was translated into many languages, and republished in the *Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, by John Harris, D.D., in London, A.D. 1744.

More than a century elapsed without any European voyager having visited Van Diemen's Land. In 1769, Captain James Cook was sent, in H.M.S. *Endeavour*, to Otaheite, there to observe the transit of Venus over the disk of the sun. After performing this service, he rediscovered New Zealand; then following a westerly course, saw land, which he judged to lie in 38° S. lat., $148^{\circ}53'$ E. long.; but could not determine whether it joined or was distinct from the Van Diemen's Land of Tasman. Cook then pro-

ceeded to the northward to Botany Bay and Cape York, considering, as Tasman had done, Van Diemen's Land a portion of Australia, or New Holland.

In 1772, Captain Marion du Fresne, a French naval officer, was sent in command of two vessels from the Mauritius in search of the supposed southern continent. On the 3rd of March, M. Marion made the west side of Van Diemen's Land in $42^{\circ} 56'$ S. lat., half a degree south of the first land seen by Tasman, and on the 4th anchored in *Fr. derik Hendrik's* bay. Fires and smoke seen by night and day indicated that the country was well inhabited; and on anchoring about thirty men assembled near the beach. The boats went on shore next morning, the natives received their strange visitors without shewing any distrust, and having piled together some pieces of wood, presented a lighted stick, apparently to try if the new comers would set fire to the pile. The French, wondering what might be the meaning of the ceremony, complied with what they considered the wish of the natives, who thereupon expressed no surprise, and remained about them with their wives and children as before, but nevertheless disdainfully rejected the presents of iron, looking-glasses, handkerchiefs, cloth, &c., offered by the seamen. After the first boat had been about an hour on shore Captain Marion landed, when one of the aborigines stepped forward and tendered him a firebrand, at the same time pointing to a small heap of wood. M. Marion thinking, as the sailors had previously done, to conciliate them, set fire to the pile, when they instantly retired to a small hill, and commenced throwing stones, by which M. Marion and the commander of his companion ship were wounded. The French fired some shots, returned to their boats, and coasted along the beach; the natives having sent their women and children into the woods, followed them along the shore, and upon their attempting again to land, sent a shower of spears into the boats, by which one man was wounded. A volley of musketry compelled the natives to retreat with their wounded from this unequal warfare; fifteen men armed with muskets pursued them for some distance, found one of them dying, whom his companions had been unable to carry off, and returned, after traversing two leagues of country, without, with the above-named exception, meeting a native or finding any fresh water. I have mentioned the

peculiar circumstances connected with this first rencontre, because a degree of painful interest is attached to it, as the commencement of a series of distressing and disastrous conflicts between the aborigines and the English settlers, which has terminated in the removal of every native from Van Diemen's Land. My own impression is, that the ceremony of offering the firebrand was intended to convey an inquiry whether the new race were coming to light their fires, or, in other words, to make their hearths and homes in their land; it was answered in the affirmative, and to prevent this they instantly declared war, and waged it ever after "to the death." They appear to have never recognized any distinction between French and English, all white men were to them alike—a blood feud had commenced, which could only be terminated by the entire destruction of one party or the other. M. Marion, not being able to obtain fresh water or masts for his ships, sailed on the 10th of March, 1772, for New Zealand, where himself, four superior officers, and eleven seamen, were massacred and eaten by the savages. In 1773, Captain Tobias Furneaux, of H.M.S. *Adventure* (one of the vessels under the command of Captain Cook), made the southwest cape of Van Diemen's Land on the 10th of March, visited *Adventure Bay*, sailed along the coast to the northward, and after arriving in the parallel of $39^{\circ} 50'$ declared his opinion that there was no strait between New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, but a very deep bay. Furneaux discontinued his northerly course, and steered for New Zealand. In 1777, Captain James Cook, then on a voyage of exploration in H.M.S. *Resolution* and *Discovery* made the southwest cape on the 24th of January, and anchored on the 26th in *Adventure bay*. Cook also failed to discover the insularity of the land. In 1788, Captain Bligh, in H.M.S. *Bounty*, visited *Adventure bay*. In 1789, the brig *Mercury*, J. H. Cox, commander, visited *Oyster Bay* in $42^{\circ} 42'$ S. In 1792, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, a French rear-admiral, who had been sent with two ships of war in search of La Perouse, entered, as he thought, the *Storm Bay* of Tasman, but which was really the fine channel since called by his name; and after sailing through it for ten leagues to the northward, he found it communicated with the true Storm bay, from which it was separated by the long and strangely-shaped island since termed *Bruni* (see topography). After making several

valuable surveys of this part of the coast, the French commander sailed to the eastward. In 1794, Captain John Hays, of the Honourable East India Company Bombay Marine, examined the coast before so frequently visited, sailed some distance up the river called by D'Entrecasteaux the *Rivière du Nord*, which appellation he changed for that of the *Derwent*, and affixed different designations to various other places, which they still retain.

In 1797, Mr. Bass, surgeon of H.M.S. *Reliance*, requested the governor of New South Wales to allow him a whale-boat, and permit him to man her with six volunteers from the ships of war at Sydney Cove, with a view to his exploring the coast to the southward. In this skiff, a little larger than a jolly-boat, and supplied with six weeks' provisions, he sailed as far as 40° S. lat., and after a hazardous voyage of twelve weeks' duration, was compelled by the leaky state of his boat to return to Sydney, which he reached in February, 1798. Colonel Collins states that Mr. Bass "visited every opening in the coast, but only in one place, to the southward and westward of Point Hicks, found a harbour (Western Port,) capable of admitting ships;" and reported that "there was every appearance of an extensive strait or rather open sea, between the latitudes of 39° and 40° S. lat., and that Van Diemen's Land consisted (as had been conjectured) of a group of islands lying off the southern coast of the country.* The point which Bass called *Furneaux Land*, was named by Governor Hunter, at the request of Captain Flinders, *Wilson's Promontory*, in compliment to Thomas Wilson, Esq., of London. Instead of finding the land to the westward of this promontory trending south, to join Van Diemen's Land, it took a directly opposite course to the northward. Mr. Bass regretted that he had not a better vessel, which would have enabled him to circumnavigate Van Diemen's Land.

On the 7th October, 1798, the *Norfolk*, a small decked boat, sloop-rigged, of twenty-five tons burthen, lately sent from Norfolk Island to Sydney, was sent with Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass, of H.M.S. *Reliance*, and eight volunteer seamen, with twelve weeks' provisions, to ascertain whether a strait really divided Van Diemen's Land from Australia.† On the 11th the explorers

anchored in *Twofold Bay*, and quitted it on the 14th. On the 17th they reached *Kent Islands*, in $38^{\circ} 16'$ S. lat.; the next morning *Furneaux Islands* were in sight; the ensuing day they anchored at *Preservation Island*; they next landed on the southern end of *Cape Barren Island*. On the 1st of November they were off Cape Portland, Van Diemen's Land, in $40^{\circ} 43'$ S. lat., and then proceeded along the north coast of Van Diemen's Land. On the 4th November, the latitude was $40^{\circ} 55' 25''$; longitude, $147^{\circ} 16' 30''$ E., when *Port Dalrymple* was discovered, and sixteen days spent in the examination of the harbour, river, and adjacent country, with whose fertility and luxuriant vegetation the explorers were agreeably astonished. So numerous were the black swans, that about 300 were seen swimming within the space of a quarter of a mile square. Wretchedly contrived huts were seen, but no inhabitants or canoes. On the 20th November, the *Norfolk* left Port Dalrymple, and proceeded to the westward, but the wind changing, the vessel was driven back to Furneaux Islands, and detained there until the 3rd of December, when the voyage through the straits was resumed. On the 6th of December at ten A.M., they passed *Circular Head*; on the 9th they rounded the north-east point of *Three Hummock Island*, pursued a western course along its north side, saw flights of gannets which they computed at not less than "one hundred million;" subsequently the coast was found to lie nearly due south, no land could be seen to the northward, and a long swell was perceived to come from the south-west, to which the voyagers had been for some time unaccustomed; it broke heavily on a small reef, and was hailed by Flinders and Bass with mutual joy and congratulation, as it announced to them the completion of the long wished for discovery of a passage into what was termed the Southern Indian Ocean. *Albatross Island* was next examined; then *Barren* and *Hunter Islands*, and the steep black head forming the north-west cape of Van Diemen's Land was seen on the 9th, and called by Flinders *Cape Grim*. The wind was then strong at east-north-east, the night dark and tempestuous, and they kept as close as possible under the land, but on the morning of the 10th of December found themselves far to the south-west. At eight A.M., the wind having moderated, the little sloop made sail south-east-half-east, and at

* Colonel Collins' *New South Wales*, published in 1804. P. 443.

† See previous volume on Australia, pp. 367-8.

noon was in $41^{\circ} 13'$ S. lat., distant ten miles from the *West Point* of Van Diemen's Land. On the 11th the latitude was $41^{\circ} 13'$, longitude $148^{\circ} 58'$, with a fresh breeze at north-north-east, with which they bore away along the shore at a distance of three or four miles, but with much hazard, as the wind blew fresh at west-north-west. On the 12th of November the latitude at noon was $42^{\circ} 0' 2''$, longitude $145^{\circ} 16' E.$, the coast trending to the south-south east, the land mountainous, and losing the uniform character it had hitherto preserved. They continued along the coast on the 13th; passed the *South-west Cape* of Van Diemen's Land, then *De Witt's* or *Maatsuyker's Islands*, subsequently *Tasman's Head*; and on the 15th anchored seven miles above *Betsey Island*, in the entrance to *Frederick Henry*, or *North Bay*. The interval between the 15th and 20th was spent in exploring *North Bay* and *Norfolk Bay*; from thence they proceeded round *Cape Direction*, to the entrance of the *Derwent River*; and on the 25th anchored in an inlet which they termed *Herdsmen's Cove*, where the explorers left the sloop and proceeded up the Derwent in their boat, as they did not suppose there would be sufficient water for the little vessel. On the 29th the sloop was taken up to *Risdon Cove* for refitment.

On the 1st of January, 1799, the *Norfolk* left the Derwent, examined D'Entrecasteaux channel, sailed down Storm bay, passed Cape Pillar on the 3rd, and proceeded to the northward. On the 4th *Maria Island* was sighted; on the 5th, *Schouten Island*; on the 6th, in $40^{\circ} 45' 30''$ S. lat., no land was in sight; on the 7th, in $40^{\circ} 24' 45''$ S. lat., *Cape Barren* was visible, bearing south 76° , west five or six miles. On the morning of the 8th, these adventurous navigators were among the islands on the north-east point of Van Diemen's Land, where stock was collected, and, after a providential escape from shipwreck, the sloop then stood to the northward; passed *Cape Howe* with a gale of wind from the south-south-east, on the 9th, and reached Port Jackson at ten p.m., on the 11th of January, 1799. The insularity of Van Diemen's Land was now ascertained, and the governor, in honour of the brave explorer, to whom Flinders generously acknowledged the merit was due, named the newly-discovered channel *Bass Strait*. When the extent of this voyage, and the scanty means with which it was

successfully accomplished, are considered, it appears a feat in itself sufficient to entitle Bass and Flinders to rank among the foremost of the daring and skilful seamen who have won for their country an honourable place in the annals of maritime discovery.

The favourable accounts given by Mr. Bass of the soil, productions, and climate of Van Diemen's Island, and by Lieutenant Flinders, of the fine harbours situated at its northern and southern extremities, determined the governor of New South Wales, Colonel King, to form a settlement there, with a view of providing food for the convicts at Sydney Cove, which it was found Norfolk Island could not supply. Some fear was entertained that the French intended to pre-occupy the island.

In August, 1803, Lieutenant Bowen was despatched from Sydney to the River Derwent, with the *Lady Nelson* brig, in charge of some convicts and a guard of soldiers. *Risdon* or *Restdown Cove*, on the east side of the river, where Flinders and Bass had watered and refitted in the *Norfolk* sloop, was the position chosen; the party was disembarked, and commenced building houses and clearing the land, but on the 3rd of May, 1804, while Lieutenant Bowen was absent at Slopers island, a party of three or four hundred aborigines pulled down the most advanced hut, and assumed what appeared to be a threatening attitude. Lieutenant Moon, of the New South Wales corps, attacked them with the military and convicts, killed, some say twenty—others, fifty—and drove the remainder back into the woods.

Meanwhile, Lieutenant-colonel Collins, of the Royal Marines, had sailed from England in April 1803, on board H.M.S. *Calcutta*, fifty guns, accompanied by the transport-ship *Ocean*, with about 400 convicts, 50 marines, and several gentlemen holding official situations, to form a settlement at Port Phillip (see vol. on *Australia*, p. 574). On arriving, Colonel Collins considered it impracticable to form a colony there, and having addressed Governor King to that effect, was ordered to sail for the Derwent, and take upon himself the chief command. On reaching Risdon Cove, he found the settlers almost starving for want of supplies, and in daily expectation of an attack from the aborigines. Colonel Collins judiciously determined to remove the settlement from Risdon to Sullivan's Cove, near the foot of Mount Wellington, where *Hobart Town* was

established, and named in honour of Lord Hobart, then his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies. Both the military and the convicts endured great privations; in the years 1806-7, being devoid of bread, flour, and biscuit, they subsisted solely on kangaroos, fish, and a kind of sea-weed called "Botany Bay greens."

In 1804, Colonel Paterson, of the 102nd regiment, was sent as commandant, from New South Wales, to form a new colony at Port Dalrymple, on the north coast of Van Diemen's Island. He named the river the *Tamar*, and established, at the head of the western arm, *York Town*; but it proved inconvenient as a seaport, and the settlement was removed to *George Town*, near the coast.

The first settlers on the banks of the *Tamar*, like those of the *Derwent*, suffered many hardships, though happily of a far milder character than those recorded in the history of New South Wales; for the government at Sydney Cove, with every detachment of convicts forwarded to Van Diemen's Land, sent some supplies of food: yet, even four or five years after the colony was formed, sheep sold for ten guineas each. The fertility of the soil, however, speedily became manifest; more and more land was cultivated; the trees were felled; live stock introduced from Norfolk Island and from India, thrived well, and increased with great rapidity; and things soon began to wear an improving aspect. Lieutenant-governor Collins died in 1810: Lieutenant Edward Lord, of the Royal Marines, Captain Murray, and Lieutenant-colonel Gills, of his Majesty's 73rd regiment, successively filled his place, until the arrival, in 1813, of Lieutenant-colonel Davey, as lieutenant-governor. At this period, merchant ships were first allowed to trade to the ports of the colony. The number of free settlers began to increase. On the abandonment of Norfolk Island as an agricultural establishment, the farmers and their families were conveyed to Van Diemen's Island, and located in the district now termed New Norfolk. There were also occasional arrivals from New South Wales: several officers belonging to the marines, and to the regiments stationed in the colony, remained in it, and became landed proprietors, as did also numerous crown prisoners, on becoming

free by servitude or by indulgence. In 1816, Van Diemen's Island commenced its first export of grain to the older colony; and in 1819, the settlement of free emigrants was sanctioned.

In 1817, Lieutenant-colonel Sorell succeeded Lieutenant-colonel Davey as lieutenant-governor, and found, on his arrival, that owing to the mistaken leniency and inefficient policy of his predecessor, "bush-ranging," or, in other words, the marauding of runaway convicts, was spreading ruin and desolation over the island. Proclamations were issued, offering rewards for the death or capture of the seven principal ringleaders, who, within a few weeks, were either made prisoners or destroyed. Of these, the most desperate and utterly depraved was a convict named Michael Howe, who had arrived in the colony in 1812, under sentence of seven years' transportation. He was assigned to the service of one of the settlers, but soon absconded to the woods, and became the leader of a set of desperadoes, who pursued a career of robbery and murder. Mutual distrust and jealousy springing up among these wretches, Howe left them, and wrote to Colonel Sorell, offering to give himself up on receiving an assurance of personal safety, and the promise of a favourable representation towards obtaining a pardon from the governor-in-chief at New South Wales. This was acceded to, and Howe quietly surrendered; but in three months he contrived to elude the vigilance of his keepers, and again took to the woods, where, shunned as a traitor by the majority of his old associates, and proscribed by the government, he pursued a fearful career of crime, taking a fiendish delight in murdering all who came within his grasp. His gang consisted of fourteen men, all armed, and two native women, also armed. This monster, having at one period separated from his party, for fear of betrayal, was accompanied by a native girl who had been his faithful companion; being hard pressed by the troops, he fired at the girl in order to facilitate his own escape. She, however, received little injury, fell into the hands of the soldiers, and afterwards became very useful as a guide to the military in tracing the footsteps of the bush-rangers among the woods, where Europeans could see no mark.* For fifteen months

* A circumstance illustrative of the keen sight and sense possessed by the Australian savages occurred while I was in New South Wales, and the accuracy

of the following narrative has been attested by Saxe Bannister, then his Majesty's attorney-general for the colony, and by other gentlemen. It was re-

the outlaw successfully defied all efforts for his capture; but at last, the reign of terror which he had maintained for nearly six years, was closed by his being beaten to death with the butt-ends of the muskets of two men, viz., Pugh, a private of the 48th, and Worrall, a convict, who laid in wait at a hut on the Shannon river, which Howe was induced to enter by the representations of a person named Warburton, who being engaged in hunting the kangaroos for their skins, was occasionally brought in contact with him. Thus the robber and murderer who had disgraced humanity by a career of far worse than brutal cruelty—hunted and trapped—died the death of a wild beast, escaping (in some sense) the last penalties awaiting him from the offended laws of his country, only to appear before that awful tribunal, to which he had been the wretched instrument of hurrying so many immortal souls—there to answer for blood shed, and misery inflicted, in the very wantonness of vice.

To return to the affairs of the colony. It is marked that a settler living in a comfortable station on a small farm, near the Great Western road to Bathurst, had not for some time been seen about his grounds, or at market. The convict overseer in his service circulated a report that his master had privately and suddenly left the country and proceeded to England, leaving the property in his charge. This was thought extraordinary, as the settler was known to be a steady, prudent, and thriving individual. The overseer, however, told the story so plausibly that it was pretty generally believed by the neighbours. Several weeks elapsed, and the subject was almost forgotten, when one Saturday night a neighbouring settler returning from market with his horse and cart, on arriving at the paling which separated the missing farmer's land from the high road, thought he saw the very man sitting on the rail or fence. Instantly stopping, he hailed his long absent neighbour, enquired where he had been, and when he had returned home; receiving no answer, he dismounted from the cart and went towards the fence; upon which his neighbour (as he plainly appeared to be) quitted the fence, and crossed the field towards a pond in the direction of the house, which he was supposed to have deserted. The farmer thought it strange, remounted his cart, and proceeded home. The next morning he went to the cottage, expecting to see his friend; but saw only the overseer, who laughed at the story, told the farmer that he had probably taken a drop too much at market, and said that his master was by that time near the shores of England. The impression made upon the mind of the farmer was nevertheless so vivid, that he proceeded immediately to the nearest justice of the peace (I think it was to the Penrith bench), related the preceding circumstances, and added that he feared there had been foul play. A native black, then attached to the station as a constable, was sent with some of the mounted police, and accompanied the farmer to the rail where the latter thought he had seen, on the previous evening.

February, 1820, Mr. Bigge arrived as commissioner of enquiry, after completing his investigations at New South Wales. The reports of the commissioner led to several important alterations in the internal affairs of the settlement; among others, the regulation by which *bona fide* growers of corn could, at all times, receive ten shillings per bushel for it from the commissariat, was abolished, and the wants of government for the support of the prisoners and the troops was, in future, laid open to competition by public tender.

The deservedly popular administration of Lieutenant-colonel Sorell closed in 1824. He found the island a wilderness in 1817, inhabited by a comparatively small and inferior class of free persons: "he left it," says a well-informed local historian, "possessed of commerce, buildings, roads, bridges, a number of wealthy emigrants, and the inhabitants wearing the appearance of prosperity."* The colonists subscribed £750 (no individual being allowed to contribute more than two dollars), for the purpose of

his missing friend. The spot was pointed out to the black, without showing him the direction which the lost person apparently took after quitting the fence. On close inspection, a part of the upper rail was observed to be discoloured; it was scraped with a knife by the black, who smelt and tasted it. Immediately after, he crossed the fence, and took a straight direction for the pond near the cottage; on its surface was a scum, which he took up with a leaf, and, after tasting and smelling it, declared it to be "*white man's fat*." Several times, somewhat after the manner of a blood-hound, he coursed round the lake; at last he darted into the neighbouring thicket, and halted at a place strewn over with loose and decayed brushwood. On removing this, he thrust down the ramrod of his musket into the earth, smelt at it, and then desired the spectators to dig there. Instantly spades were brought from the cottage; the remains of the settler were found, and recognized: the skull was fractured, and the body presented every indication of having been some time immersed in water. The overseer was committed to gaol, and tried for murder. The foregoing circumstantial evidence formed the main proofs. He was found guilty, sentenced to death, and proceeded to the scaffold protesting his innocence. Here, however, his hardihood forsook him: he acknowledged the murder of his late master; declared that he came behind him when he was crossing the identical rail on which the farmer fancied he saw the deceased, and, with one blow on the head, killed him—dragged the body to the pond, and threw it in: but, after some days, took it out again, and buried it where it was found. The sagacity evinced by the native black was remarkable; but the first indication to the farmer of the spot on which the murder was committed, is to me the most singular interposition of Providence that ever came within the limit of my own immediate observation.

* *Van Diemen's Land*, by Henry Melville, published at Hobart Town in 1833.

presenting to the governor a piece of plate, and addressed the crown, praying that he might be continued in office; but the usual period of six years allotted to a governor having expired, his Majesty's ministers deemed it advisable, at this important epoch in the colony, to send out an officer of tried firmness of character, under whom various administrative reforms could, it was considered, be more effectually carried into operation than by an old-established governor. The retiring governor received a pension of £500 per annum from the colonial revenues.

The new ruler arrived at Hobart Town in May, 1824, and soon found himself surrounded with difficulties: the colonists (to borrow a phrase more expressive than elegant, from the Americans), had been "going a-head too fast;" a reaction had commenced; mercantile depression, depreciation of property, and diminution of public confidence followed: distress brought discontent in its train; party spirit, so frequently the bane of a colonial community, occasioned much bitterness of feeling; and to add to the public distress, bush-ranging recommenced, and fearful atrocities were of frequent occurrence. The daring and ferocity of the bush-rangers are the theme of several popular narratives, and many of the wildest and most romantic scenes of Van Diemen's Island are associated in the minds of the people with some, now happily traditional, exploit. The proceedings of one of the most celebrated of those lawless bands will convey some idea of the disturbed state of society which they occasioned. In 1824, fourteen desperate convicts, of whom the leaders were Crawford, Brady, Dunne, and Cody, made their escape from the penal settlement at Port Macquarie in a whale-boat. They coasted the south-west shores of the island, living on shell-fish, &c., and ultimately reached the shores of the Derwent river, where they landed, and were soon joined by numerous associates, provided with arms, and other necessaries. Crawford, a clever Scotchman, said to have been formerly a lieutenant or mate in the royal navy, organized and disciplined this gang of free-booters, who soon filled the respectable colonists with alarm. One of their earliest attacks was directed against the mansion of Mr. G. Taylor, of Valley-field, on the Macquarie river, situated on a gentle eminence, commanding a view of the river and open plain. The banditti mustered thirteen; the

family consisted of the venerable old gentleman (in his seventy-fourth year), three sons, two daughters, besides a carpenter and another free servant. While the robbers were advancing, they made prisoner of the youngest son of Mr. Taylor, whom they placed in front, denouncing his family, and threatening his immediate destruction if they were opposed. The gallant veteran, despite the disparity of numbers, and the fearful position of his son, sallied forth, accompanied by his two sons and servant, to give battle: the carpenter, who was working at a distance, hearing the alarm, attempted to return to the house, but was bayoneted by one of the gang. When the firing commenced, young Taylor, who was close to Crawford, the leader, sprang upon him, and endeavoured to hurl the ruffian to the ground. Both being powerful men, the struggle lasted some time, when Mr. Robert Taylor, fearing for the result, fired his musket, loaded with slugs and buck-shot, taking aim, as well as he could, at Crawford, who received part of the contents in his body—the remainder took effect on the shoulder of young Taylor. The fearful contest was kept up for a considerable period, the ladies charging the fire-arms of their father and brothers, and the whole party fighting for life, and more than life, since the treatment defenceless females were likely to receive at the hands of these wretches, was more to be dreaded than death itself. At length the bush-rangers were compelled to retreat, leaving Crawford and two of his gang on the field dangerously wounded; they were handed over to justice, and perished on the scaffold. Young Taylor partially recovered, but was subsequently killed by the aborigines, and his brave-hearted father did not long survive him.

The command of this desperate gang devolved on Brady, whose name operated like a spell in giving confidence to the bush-rangers, and whose rapid and daring movements struck terror into every part of the island. For nearly two years this Tasmanian brigand, who made it his boast that he "never wantonly sacrificed human life, and never outraged female delicacy," set every effort for his capture at defiance, and his traits of generosity and reckless daring threw a *prestige* around even his worst actions, which among the less depraved convicts rendered his example really more injurious, because more alluring than the

hideous and unalloyed vice before manifested by Howe.

The reception which Mr. Taylor had given to the bush-rangers was not lost upon Brady; the maxim he adopted was never to fight except "upon compulsion," or at least what he considered such, and the superior knowledge of the bush possessed by the brigands, together with the information acquired by their scouts scattered all over the country, and that obtained from their numerous allies among the convict servants assigned in private houses, enabled them to outgeneral every military or police movement. The Shannon district, with the extensive uninhabited district of St. Patrick's, Arthur's Lake, Lake Echo, and Great Lake, had been ever the favourite resorts of the bush-rangers, who closely imitated the dress of the soldiers, which consisted when in the bush of a grey jacket and trowsers, trimmed with fur, kangaroo-skin knapsack, opossum-skin cap, and kangaroo cartouche box—hence mistakes arose on the part of the troops, which had, for them, too frequently a fatal termination. Several of Brady's feats savoured more of the hero of a melodrama than of the dry hard life of an escaped felon, engaged in procuring by theft a precarious subsistence; that such a mode of existence, while rendering him utterly callous to its consequences, had not eradicated all trace of better feeling is much to be wondered at.

Among the many tales rife among the colonists at this period, the following is perhaps the best example of the strange mixture of personal daring, impudence, ready wit, and want of principle or sense of infamy, which marked the character of this "popular villain."

Brady with his gang had possessed himself of the premises of Mr. Robert Bethune, at Pitt-Water, on a day when that gentleman was expecting visitors from Hobart Town. In due time the unconscious guests arrived, being received with all respect by the robbers, who took their horses and ushered them to the dining-room, where they did the honours with perfect gravity, some time elapsing before the gentlemen became aware of their actual position. In the plunder which ensued Mr. Walter Bethune was deprived of a brooch containing some hair, which was restored by Brady with the remark of—"Some love-token, perhaps, which I should be sorry to deprive any gentleman of." Dinner over, the guests,

and other captives, to the number of eighteen, were tied together two and two, and then *marched to the gaol at Sorell*, which they reached just as Lieutenant Gunn's party of soldiers, who had been out the whole day in quest of the outlaws, were in the act of cleaning their firelocks. Their surprise consequently was complete, their arms were seized upon by the enemy, and they themselves thrust into duranee. The gaoler having escaped, fled to the abode of the district surgeon, where he found Lieutenant Gunn, who had retired thither after his day's march; immediately resuming his arms, he was leaving the house, when he encountered several of the gang, at whom, while taking aim, he received the contents of a musket in his right arm. Several shots were fired, and Captain Glover, a retired officer, on approaching the scene of action, was disarmed and incarcerated with the rest of the prisoners. The main body of the bush-rangers then withdrew, leaving a sentry posted, to whom they gave most sanguinary injunctions in the event of the prisoners attempting to escape, but desired him to respect their captivity should it be borne patiently. Some hours after dawn the gentry and soldiers who were in the gaol suspecting that the sentry was asleep, rushed upon him, and found their redoubted antagonist to be only a bundle of sticks, invested with a military great coat, cross belts, arms "ordered," and bayonet fixed. The military at this period consisted only of two or three small detachments, and there was then no effective police. Large rewards were in vain offered for the capture, or for the heads of the robbers. The contributions levied upon the settlers enabled the leaders to purchase connivance, and the residents at outstations feared to become marked men, by aiding in the attempts at capturing the ringleaders; some of the small settlers, it is stated, not only supplied the gangs with provisions and ammunition, but kept them acquainted with every plan projected for their apprehension. This alarming disorganization went on increasing for two years, until life and property beyond the immediate vicinity of the towns became insecure. Being well mounted the bushmen traversed the island with wonderful rapidity, and when a detachment of soldiers had left some gentleman's residence, hearing of the robbers at a distance, the brigands, deriving their intelligence from the convict servants, pounced upon the defenceless mansion, and rifled its contents.

Pecuniary reward proving insufficient to procure the capture of the bush-rangers, who possessed secure retreats in the mountain fastnesses and secluded dells of the island, Colonel Arthur obtained permission to offer a boon, in which he could have no competitor: namely, free or conditional pardons, and tickets of leave, with, in certain cases, in addition to pardon and pecuniary reward—a *free passage to England*. The hope of liberty proved an all-powerful stimulus, in a few months the whole party being captured, destroyed, or dispersed. Lieutenant Williams, of his Majesty's 40th regiment, with a strong detachment, came suddenly on Brady and his gang; after a brief contest the latter were worsted; Brady being wounded, was soon taken prisoner, and with five other bush-rangers, executed at Hobart Town.

Dunne, Cody, the ferocious Williams, and the sanguinary Murphy, for a time kept the bush, plundering, and too frequently murdering all who came within their reach; but treachery and the hope of reward soon did their work; life-and-death struggles took place, many were slain in the field, some died of their wounds in the hospitals, others, to the number of six or eight at a time, perished on the scaffold, and the advice generally given to the bystanders was—"My lads, never take to the bush, it is a bad game, and now quite done up; but if any of you should be such fools, be sure you murder the assigned (convict) servants—they are a devilish deal worse than their masters."

Although bush-ranging has since been occasionally attempted, it has not lasted long; villains know by experience they cannot trust each other, and to their many crimes treachery is almost invariably superadded; "honour among thieves" signifying simply, mutual connivance while it is convenient.

Between January 3rd, 1822, and May 16th, 1827, more than 120 prisoners absconded from the penal settlement at Macquarie Harbour; with two or three exceptions, the whole perished, being either hanged as bush-rangers, shot by the hands of the military, or famished in the woods, where some of them were reduced to such fearful extremities as led them to add to their previous offences against divine and human laws, that most outrageous to both—*cannibalism*. Of this, one fearful and only too well authenticated instance will suffice. Two convicts named Alexander Pierce and

Robert Greenhill absconded with six others, September 20th, 1822, with a view of endeavouring to reach the settled districts. After about ten days' travelling in the woods, Greenhill and Pierce agreed to murder one of their comrades named Dalton, and eat him. Greenhill slew the victim with an axe, and he was eaten by the party; after a few more days' travelling, Greenhill, with the concurrence of others, killed another comrade named Bodenham, and he was eaten. The next sufferer, John Mather, seeing that he was doomed, asked and obtained life for half-an-hour to pray, after which he was destroyed, and his body served for about six days for the remainder of the party, excepting two, named Brown and Kennelly, who, after seeing the murder of Mather, returned to Port Macquarie, where they died of exhaustion in a few days. Of the three remaining murderers, one named Matthew Travers was the weakest,—he was soon destroyed, part of him eaten, and the remainder dried and divided between Pierce and Greenhill, who by this time had crossed the third tier of Western Mountains, and arrived at a delightful part of the country covered with long grass, and abounding in kangaroos and emus, which they were unable to catch. The demoniac feelings of these two cannibals, each eyeing the other, and watching the opportunity to slaughter and devour him, offers a most horrible picture of the depths of degradation to which even civilized nature may descend. Pierce, in his deposition,* declared himself to have been haunted by the expression of one of his murdered comrades—"Greenhill would kill his father before he would fast one day;" and afraid to sleep or walk before him, he added that he thought for two days that Greenhill "eyed him more than usual;" he kept the axe, the instrument of such terrific deeds, under his head at night, and carried it constantly on his back in the day-time. After a few days passed in this manner, Greenhill fell, overcome with fatigue; Pierce instantly slew him, and travelled on, bearing with him the thigh and arm of his late associate. On reaching the settled districts, he caught a lamb and ate it raw, joined a gang of bush-rangers, and after a short time was taken prisoner and sent to Hobart Town, from whence he was again transferred to Port Macquarie. On the 16th of November,

* Report on Transportation, House of Commons, 3rd August, 1833. Appendix, p. 313.

1823, Pierce persuaded a prisoner named Thomas Cox to abscond, and proceed towards Hobart Town. When they had travelled three days' journey from the settlement, and while they had still some pork, bread, and fish remaining, Pierce murdered Cox, eat a considerable part of him, which, he said, was preferable to any other food, and then, as he declared in his confession, became "so horror-struck at his inhuman conduct," and so confounded, that scarcely knowing what he was doing he made a fire on the beach, which being perceived from the pilot station, and also from the settlement, led to his speedy seizure, which he made no effort to avoid, but voluntarily directed his capturers to the spot where he had left the mangled remains of his victim. When brought back to the settlement he had on the clothes of the murdered man, and a piece of his flesh in his pocket. Pierce was sent to Hobart Town on the 21st of November, 1823, tried for the murder of Cox, found guilty, confessed his crimes, and was executed.

I pass now to another subject, not entirely unconnected with the preceding, which, though less horrible in its details, must, to the mind of the philanthropist, be fraught with yet more painful interest. The fate of the aborigines of Van Diemen's Island, as of too many British Colonies, forms a distressing chapter in the history of the human race; and although it is true that entire nations have become extinct, in some instances, without any direct hostile proceedings on the part of their successors in the land, and like various species of animals and vegetables once abundant, have given place to a distinctly different class; in the present case the influence has been actively not passively injurious.

Van Diemen's Island, when visited by various early navigators, was comparatively thickly peopled by several thousands of a dark-coloured aboriginal race, differing in some respects from the aborigines of the adjacent island of Australia, being of a darker hue, with woolly instead of long hair, a more extreme facial angle, and with the features of the Papuan and the African negro; the limbs were attenuated, and the hands and feet small. The upper jaw, in children, projected considerably beyond the lower, but fell back with age; in the adult it was nearly in the same line. At Adventure Bay the males had their bodies tattooed, and their hair powdered with ochre. The front teeth were not drawn,

nor the first joint of the little finger cut off, as is the case with most of the Australian aborigines. Both sexes went entirely naked, except during the winter season, when kangaroo skins were occasionally worn. Their habitations consisted of three sticks stuck in the ground, and meeting in a point at the top, where they were fastened by a cord of bark, the sides interlaced with wicker-work, and the whole covered with bark or with long grass. Household utensils were unknown; the canoe consisted of a few pieces of wood lashed together like a catamaran.

The women of Van Diemen's Island were a better-looking race, with more agreeable features, and more cleanly persons than those of New South Wales. They frequently became attached to English sailors stationed in the islands in Bass Straits to collect seals, and proved affectionate, faithful, and useful, appearing happy to escape from the tyranny and hard labour imposed by their aboriginal husbands. The children by an European father and native mother are really handsome, of a light copper colour, with rosy cheeks, large black eyes (the whites tinged with blue), long dark eyelashes, fine teeth, well-proportioned head, and robust limbs. The male natives, though under other circumstances manifesting much natural affection and kindness to children generally, destroy all those of the half-caste, whenever they have the power; but the women evince the most passionate attachment to those children, and have been known to rush into the fire, and, at the hazard of their own lives, rescue the babe which the savages had committed to the flames. While the sealers were necessarily absent on their hunting expeditions on the islands for several days together, their native wives would continue for hours pouring forth a kind of hymn imploring the Deity whom they believe to be the giver of all good, that he would send back the wanderers with speed and safety. This invocation was accompanied with considerable gracefulness of action, and uttered in harmonious cadences.

The use of the bow and arrow was unknown; as also the throwing-stick and boomerang of the Australians. Their spears were composed of a piece of wood pointed by a sharp stone and hardened by fire, which was obtained by the rapid friction of touchwood. Their weapons, however, though in themselves not very dangerous,

were nevertheless kept in constant employment. Each tribe claimed exclusive possession of a hunting tract, whose limits being by no means clearly defined, occasioned murderous and almost incessant hostilities. Some tribes were more savage and mischievous than others, but the leading characteristics of them all would seem to have been, but too generally, untameable fierceness, treachery, and revenge; these evil passions, however, we must not forget, were fearfully developed by the circumstances of their position. The blood feuds commenced by the natives with the French navigator, Marion, and continued in 1803 with the first British settlers on the Derwent, were fearfully fomented by their being brought in contact with a class of men whose so-called civilization rendered them dangerous and unscrupulous as adversaries, and whose vices totally incapacitated them from pursuing towards the savages the course which—setting aside all better springs of action—common prudence would have dictated.

There can be, unfortunately, no doubt that the runaway convicts, the prisoners working on the roads in gangs, and in some instances, the "ticket-of-leave men," residing in the interior, carried on a constant and brutal warfare with the aborigines; invaded their hunting grounds, massacred whole tribes in order to carry off their women, and shot down a savage in much the same spirit in which they would have killed a tiger; this induced terrific reprisals—the infuriated natives, incapable of distinguishing between friend and foe, treated every white person as a deadly enemy; the traveller was waylaid and put to a cruel death—the settler was speared on his farm—the corn-stacks were fired—frequently, also the dwellings—desolation was spread over the country, and an exterminating warfare ensued, which could only terminate with the utter destruction of one race or of the other.

In 1817 Lieutenant-governor Sorell issued a proclamation declaring all the aborigines to be British subjects, and under the protection of his Majesty's government, with a view of stopping the practice of shooting at them. Their hostility is said to have been greatly increased by a native named *Mosquito*, who had been employed to track the bush-ranger, Michael Howe, and his associates. *Mosquito*, on being jeered and insulted by the convict population, for the

services thus rendered, returned to the woods, became chief of one of the most ferocious tribes, whom he instructed in every villany, and after committing many murders, was at length taken and executed. Women, children, and remote stock-keepers, fell under the unerring spears or waddies of the savages, who inflicted on the corpses of their victims enormities too revolting to be narrated. Sometimes the women were sent to a house to ask for bread or "bacea," and having ascertained the strength, or rather weakness, of the inmates, gave the preconceived signal, and instantly the hills around were covered with the savages, who sped to the work of murder and rapine with the celerity of lightning; at other times, they would lie concealed among the charred fallen timber and blackened tree stumps, and when the unwary travellers were passing, suddenly start erect like demon ministers of death. In the more early stages of their hostility, a tribe would approach the Europeans seemingly unarmed, and assuming a pacific appearance and supplicating gesture, make their stealthy advances with the fatal spear drawn along the ground securely fixed between their toes.

The difference between a double and a single-barrelled gun was well understood, and if they succeeded in provoking an European to throw away his fire, they would speedily "*rush*" their antagonists, and with their waddies make death the certain issue of the conflict. They were also well aware of the edict made for their protection, and on one occasion, when they approached a hut where there was only one stock-keeper, upon being warned off with a threat of being fired at, if they came nearer, the reply of the leader is said to have been, "*You dam convict—you dam white—you shoot a me—gubberna hang you.*" Upon this, with a loud yell they fearlessly approached; the convict, however, judging the immediate danger to be the greater, fired a ball through the head of the chief, who was borne off by his companions, but not until another fell a victim to the unerring aim of the herdsman, who then re-loaded, and pursued the flying foe; but while absent, some of the aborigines entered the hut, plundered it, and carried off a quantity of arsenic used for the destruction of vermin. The effects of the poison were not traced further, than that the blacks were seen drinking at the river in an extraordinary manner. Not unfrequently, the

defenceless stock-keepers were rescued from being murdered by the aborigines, by the timely arrival of bush-rangers armed to the teeth, who poured a deadly volley among the assailants.

There are so many accounts of their atrocious cruelties extant, that the following instance of compassion deserves to be placed on record. An elderly shepherd confined by illness to his hut, while being tended by the wife of one of his comrades, was suddenly alarmed by the fearful native yell of onslaught. The door and window were instantly closed; but a fiery spear directed at the thatched roof, set it instantly in a blaze. The old man desired his kind nurse not to stir, adding, "the blaze will be seen, and help may arrive." For a while she endured the heat and smoke; but when the showers of hot ashes had ignited her dress, she exclaimed, "Let me go, Clarke; better to perish at once by their spears, than consume piecemeal." On opening the door every spear was poised against her; uttering a piercing scream, she threw herself at the feet of the foremost of the savages; he looked at her for a moment, motioned to his companions to desist, tore the burning embers from her neck and hair, and rapidly uttering, "*Parawa—parawa*," pointed out to her the way of escape, which she, half wild with terror, instantly took. While this scene was occurring, a constable in charge of a female convict, chanced to be passing near the spot, and did not discover the vicinity of the savages, until he found himself close to them. He whispered to his companion to speed on in silence, but her fears mastered her prudence, and she uttered a loud and fatal shriek; the constable, unable to quiet the girl, fled—was hotly pursued, but saved his life—the girl fell instantly, pierced with wounds, and was buried with the remaining portion of the shepherd, who with his hut, was almost reduced to ashes. The number of Europeans who thus perished, must have been considerable; they were of all ranks and classes, and the daring of the aborigines became so formidable, that military detachments were obliged to be stationed on several properties, for the protection of the families of the proprietors.

In 1830 it became absolutely impossible to permit the desultory warfare between the isolated colonists and the wandering aborigines, so fatal to both, to continue; and a plan was formed and carried into execution,

of forming a line of troops, convicts, and colonists, across the island, and gradually moving, without breaking the chain, towards Tasman's peninsula, preceded by various skirmishing parties, who kept up an occasional firing and noise, as if they had been engaged on an elephant hunt. The march lasted two months—was borne well by all parties; but, from the rugged and broken nature of the country, the aborigines escaped to the rear of their pursuers, and when the extended line closed in at the entrance of Tasman's peninsula, the sole captive acquired by so much toil, and at an expense of £30,000, was a *little half-starved boy*!

When the united efforts of the government and of the colonists had failed in effecting the capture of the aborigines, an individual named Robinson, not gifted, apparently, with particular abilities or superior address, offered his services to Lieutenant-governor Arthur, declaring his belief that he and his colleagues could bring all the savages to terms, and induce them to submit voluntarily to British authority. After some negotiations relative to the provision to be secured to his family, in the event of his perishing in the attempt, and the stipulation, if he succeeded, of a situation as protector of the aborigines, with a salary of about £200 a-year, his propositions were assented to. With Mr. Batman and a few other European associates, he penetrated the fastnesses into which the savages had retired; and having, through the medium of some partly domesticated aborigines, communicated to them his errand as a peace-maker, he so far conciliated them by persuasion and promises, aided by various small gifts, as to induce tribe after tribe to follow him to Hobart Town, where he placed them under the charge of the government. Every attention was paid to their necessities, and great pains taken to relieve them of the loathsome cutaneous disease under which many of them laboured; consequent, doubtless, upon their complete exposure to every vicissitude of weather, upon insufficient, and too often, most unwholesome food; but, more than all, upon their filthy habits. According to the statements of the aborigines themselves, the number still remaining in the woods was very small, yet the whole of those assembled in Hobart Town—men, women, and children—amounted to little more than 200; a melancholy proof of the exterminating warfare which must have been carried on by the

settlers, since the ordinary effects of the presence of the civilized man in the land of the savage—injurious as they have unhappily, too generally been—could not alone account for so rapid a decrease in a population which, according to the early discoverers of the island, had appeared very considerable.

It now became necessary to determine what to do with the natives, and after much deliberation, the plan deemed most conducive both to their welfare and that of the colonists, was, to convey them to Flinders' Island; this was accordingly done, the poor creatures seeming, to some extent, reconciled to their banishment—though, during the whole passage, they sat on the vessel's bulwark, shaking little bags of human bones, apparently as a charm against the danger to which they felt exposed.

A party of aborigines, supposed to be the last remnant of the ill-fated Tasmanian race, were taken, in 1842, by some sealers on the western coast; a reward of £50 having been offered for their apprehension, on account of some depredations that they were said from time to time to have committed. They were induced, by the representations of a countrywoman of their own—the wife of one of the sealers—to enter a boat under the pretence of being taken to some good hunting-ground; but when they were all afloat, and prostrated by seasickness, the sealers made sail for the station of the Van Diemen's Land Company at Point Woolnorth, from whence they were conveyed to Flinders' Island by Captain Stokes, to join their brethren, who then numbered only fifty-four individuals, three-fourths of the original number having perished, and the additions by birth having been but fourteen. In 1848 (31st December), there were stationed at *Oyster Cove*, on *Maria Island*, south-east coast, to which the remnant had been removed from Flinders' Island, twelve men, twenty-three women, and one male child, of pure aboriginal blood; they are fed, superintended, and educated by the colonial government, at an annual cost of £2,100, exclusive of the charge for seven children who are educated at the Queen's Orphan School. Of those at *Oyster cove*, five can read and write, ten can read only, and twenty-one are totally uneducated.

I have thus stated plainly and briefly, our dealings with the aborigines of Tasmania. It is worse than vain to deny, that as a Christian nation, the responsibility we voluntarily

incurred with regard to them was, in the first instance, either grievously misunderstood or wilfully disregarded; nor can we now, looking back upon the whole of our proceedings with them, contemplate without feelings of remorseful regret, the melancholy picture of these wild children of the woods pining rapidly away, in what to them must seem dreary captivity.

Of all the Australian natives that I ever met with, the Tasmanians appeared to me the least susceptible of intellectual cultivation, and the most obnoxious to civilization in any form; consequently, even while receiving as its effect, the abundance of food, warmth, and shelter, which in a state of freedom they must have so frequently been unable to procure, their roving instincts would naturally lead them to yearn with feverish restlessness after their old haunts, and the wandering habits of their early life. Whether by a different system having been pursued from the very commencement of European colonization in the island, they might not have been so far conciliated as to dwell peaceably in territory duly allotted to them, is a question which, so far as this island is concerned, it is useless to ask; but the lesson dependent upon it is a most important one to a nation whose peculiar mission would seem to be colonization. The answer is only too readily furnished by the ease with which the aborigines were brought to listen to the negotiations of Mr. Robinson; and in the case of the Port Phillip natives, by Mr. Batman (see div. iv. p. 575). I do not mean to deny that great difficulties are necessarily attendant on the intercourse of civilized and savage man—difficulties which, I verily believe, the wisdom of practical Christianity on the part of both the legislature and the colonists, can alone successfully combat; neither do I believe any line of policy likely to prove eventually successful in preserving these wild races, whose extinction—from some inscrutable law of their Creator and ours—seems inevitable; but if it be so, is it not the more incumbent on those who are, however regretfully, in some measure the instruments of their fate, to do all in their power to ameliorate it, to evince towards them all possible forbearance, and to make every attempt to dwell peaceably with them in the land from which they are passing rapidly away.

In the case before us, the demoralized state of the convict population must have

rendered the position of the local government, however desirous of securing the welfare of both races, a very arduous one; but it must, I think, be admitted, that if the attempt of coming to terms with the aborigines had been made at a much earlier period, the tranquillity of the colony might have been secured in a more satisfactory manner; and the guerilla warfare, with its fearful sacrifice of life and property, and disorganising influences, might have been to a great extent prevented.

I now resume chronologically the details of the principal occurrences.

In December, 1825, Van Diemen's Land was officially declared an independent colony, and formed into a distinct government. Hitherto its legislative proceedings had been superintended by the government of New South Wales; but for the future the settlement was to be subjected to the direct control of his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies. The introduction of a supreme court of judicature was coeval with the commencement of the administration of Colonel Arthur. This able officer efficiently organized the different governmental departments, apportioned to each its proper duties, and established an excellent system, which might be taken as a model by other colonial governments. His Excellency, in 1827, divided the island into several police districts, and placed each under the charge of a stipendiary magistrate, who had under his control a certain number of "field police" and of mounted policemen.

The practice of allowing the unpaid magistrates various petty indulgences, in the shape of rations, clothing, &c., was abolished; and the savings were appropriated towards carrying out a more effective police system.

Among other useful measures, was that of putting aside a monetary system introduced during the administration of Governor Macquarie, which, though not without its advantages at that period, was becoming more and more inconvenient. In consequence of the scarcity of the circulating medium (then almost limited to dollars and copper coin), and to prevent its being conveyed out of the colony, the "holey dollar" and "dump" had been invented. A piece being struck out of the centre, and called a "dump," passed *current* at 1s.3d., and the rim at 3s.9d. Though the *sterling* value of the Spanish dollar was only 4s.4d., it was in this manner made to represent 5s. *currency*. Again, an

English sovereign was worth 20s. *sterling*, or 23s. *currency*. This caused great confusion, until matters were set to rights by the introduction from England of the current British coin, the reinstatement of the dollar at its fixed value, and the formation of sound banks of issue, to supersede the circulation of private notes, which were previously given for all sums from sixpence upwards. The seat of government, about the ultimate position whereof doubts were entertained, was finally decreed to be at Hobart Town, great improvement in the style of whose buildings was soon perceptible; handsome stone and brick edifices rose one after another in rapid succession, and in all directions; large well-finished shops took the place of the cottages which had from time to time been run up without form or order; and wharfs, quays, and macadamized streets attested the public confidence and the energy of the people. With respect to the interior, great progress was made in fencing, clearing, and tillage; improved breeds of stock were introduced by some intelligent farmers from the south of England; good roads and bridges were made throughout the colony; markets and fairs were established; joint-stock companies were formed at Hobart Town and at Launceston; whale-fishing was carried on with activity; the exports were increased; the public revenue augmented, and exceeded the expenditure by £20,000 a-year; the activity of the governor encouraged the erection of churches and chapels in various parts; the clerical establishment of the colony was enlarged; lay lecturers, or catechists, were appointed; education promoted; and male and female orphan schools founded.

As might be expected, the colonists, in 1830, then numbering 13,000 free persons, and increasing annually in a rapid ratio, earnestly desired a legislature, composed of representatives elected by themselves. An address was therefore voted to the crown, on this and on other points, for which redress was sought. The following paragraph, conveying the opinion of Governor Arthur to his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject, deserves a record, for it speaks volumes in favour of both the governor and the governed, and proves how little, even at that time, Van Diemen's Island deserved the indiscriminating abuse applied to it, as "a den of thieves":—

"Legislation by representation is a mode of government so interwoven with the habits of Eng-

lishmen, and so endeared to them by a thousand associations, that it is not at all surprising the petition for an assembly should have received so many highly respectable signatures; nor am I prepared to say that I do not respect the *passion for British institutions which so remarkably distinguishes the inhabitants*—more especially when I reflect that it is proved by the liberal contributions for the building of churches, made in almost every district, that the attainment of the elective franchise is not the only national object which interests them.”

His majesty's government did not accede to the wishes of the colonists; a legislative council, composed of fifteen persons, nominated by the crown, had been granted by act of Parliament in 1829, and the laws of England were said to be in force so far as the circumstances of the colony would permit. Some useful enactments were however made; courts of Quarter Sessions and of Requests were established, and trial by jury in civil and criminal cases was granted in 1830. It is not within the scope of my plan to comment on the individual rule of representatives of the crown in the colonies, but in this case I may be excused for the exception. The administration of Lieutenant-governor Arthur closed on 30th October, 1836, having lasted upwards of twelve years; and speaking from personal knowledge of him as governor of Van Diemen's Island, and subsequently as governor of Bombay, I have no hesitation in saying that a more efficient, conscientious, and Christian ruler never presided over a British dependency. On his departure he received several valedictory addresses, and £1,500 was raised to present him with a piece of plate as a tribute indicative of the esteem of the colonists; moreover during a long career of public service as chief of the government at Honduras, Van Diemen's Island, Upper or Western Canada, and Bombay, Sir George Arthur never received a rebuke from his superiors in England; the Horse Guards, the Colonial Office, and the E. I. Directors having all paid him the gratifying tribute of commendation.

Sir John Franklin (whose return from the North Polar seas the nation has well nigh ceased to hope) was the next governor of Van Diemen's Island. During his administration the act of parliament enjoining the sale of the crown lands in the Australian colonies by auction at a high minimum price was brought into operation. The

effect of this measure has proved as injurious to Van Diemen's Island as to New South Wales and the other colonies in Australia, by preventing the sale of the land, and consequently the immigration of the free yeoman class, so much needed for the welfare of this penal colony. Sir John Franklin, in reply to a despatch from Lord Stanley, in 1839, directing him to raise the minimum price from 5s. to 12s. per acre, clearly foretold the consequences, and stated, “there is every reason to believe that there does not remain any considerable portion of land in the territory of a higher value than 6s. or 7s. per acre. Your lordship will therefore perceive that this instruction is in effect an instruction virtually abolishing sales of land in Van Diemen's Island, and must accordingly put an end to the already declining land sales.” The opinion of the lieutenant-governor was disregarded, and not only has the sale of land ceased, but cultivation has been stationary, and the progress of the colony materially impeded by this ill-judged legislative enactment. Sir J. Franklin was succeeded by Sir J. E. E. Wilmot, in August, 1843, who was recalled in consequence of certain allegations impeaching his moral character, which however it is but just to state, that a large and respectable class of the colonists considered unfounded. He died in the colony in October, 1846, partly from disease, doubtless accelerated by distress of mind. The present lieutenant-governor is Sir William Denison, a captain in the Royal Engineers, and under this officer, (the boon so long solicited by the colonists being at length granted,) the first representative Legislative Assembly will be elected in conformity to the act passed by Imperial Parliament in 1850, “for the better government of her Majesty's Australian colonies,” in which Van Diemen's Island has been included. The provisions of this act have been detailed in the previous volume, pp. 561—563. It is due to the colonists to state that they have long sought this boon from the Imperial Legislature, and for several years very many of them have earnestly protested against the continuation of transportation to Van Diemen's Island, more especially since its abolition in New South Wales in 1840,* when this fine island became

* By an order of her Majesty in council, dated 2nd June, 1840, it was declared that, on and after the 1st August, 1840, “Van Diemen's Land, Norfolk Island, and the islands adjacent to, and comprised within the government of Van Diemen's Land, shall

be the places to which felons and other offenders in the United Kingdom then being, or thereafter to be, under sentence or order of transportation, shall be conveyed, under the provisions of the act, 5th of George the Fourth.

almost the sole receptacle for the criminals banished from the United Kingdom. Petitions have been sent to the Imperial Parliament in 1845, 1848, and 1849, praying for the cessation of convict transportation to Van Diemen's Island. That of 1845 comprised among its signatures that of Dr. Nixon, the bishop of Tasmania, those of six out of eight unofficial members of the Legislative Council, of thirty justices of the peace, a large number of landed proprietors, clergymen of different persuasions, professional men, tradesmen, and mechanics. I give the petition verbatim, because it deserves respect, conveys the feelings and opinions of a large and respectable class, and contains a brief enumeration of many facts highly creditable to the Tasmanian colonists; moreover it breathes throughout a loyal spirit—even the grievances, real or supposed, therein complained of, being put forth in mild and temperate language. The arguments on this subject have been since ably and temperately urged on the consideration of her Majesty's Secretary of State by Mr. J. A. Jackson, the London agent of the colonists who hold these opinions:—

"The humble Petition of the undersigned Free Colonists of Van Diemen's Land.

"**SHEWETH**,—That in approaching your Majesty to pray your gracious protection, we desire to express our sincere loyalty to your Majesty, and our firm attachment to the constitution of the British empire.

"That in making our present application, we entreat your Majesty to believe that we are actuated by no factious feeling, by no unreasonable discontent, nor by any motive but such as ought to influence us as men and as Christians.

"That we appeal to Sir Eardley Wilmot, our lieutenant-governor, to testify that what we state as matter of fact in this petition is in no degree erroneous or exaggerated; and, as a considerable number of your petitioners are personally known to his excellency, and also to our late lieutenant-governor, Sir John Franklin (who is now in England), we further appeal to them both for their testimony as to the general position and character as colonists of many of those who now address your Majesty.

"That we remind your Majesty that from the year 1824, the British government promoted and encouraged the emigration of free settlers to Van Diemen's Land, by public notices issued, from the colonial-office, the horse-guards, and the admiralty, and offered as inducements to such emigration, at first free grants of land, and latterly allowances to naval and military officers in the purchase of crown lands.

"That the obtaining of free grants of land was conditional upon the settlers investing a considerable capital in the colony, and being persons of character and respectability; and that all those who obtained such grants, and all military and naval officers obtaining the allowance in purchasing land, were required to become permanent residents in the colony.

"That under these inducements, and under these

conditions, a large body of your Majesty's free subjects became settlers in Van Diemen's Land as farmers and merchants.

"That up to the year 1831, a considerable number of your Majesty's free subjects had also emigrated to Van Diemen's Land as mechanics and farming men; and after that year, the number of these emigrants was increased under the system of bounties sanctioned both by the British and colonial governments.

"That by the industry and capital of these various colonists, an extensive commerce has been created, two considerable sea-port towns, besides several inland townships (or villages) and numerous houses and farm buildings have been erected, and a vast quantity of the waste land in the colony has been cleared from the forest and brought into cultivation.

"That from the year 1824, to the year 1840, the population of the colony increased from 12,700 to upwards of 40,000—the number of acres in cultivation from 25,000 to 124,000—the colonial shipping from one vessel of 42 tons to 141 vessels, comprising 12,491 tons—the imports (chiefly of English goods carried in English ships) from £62,000 to £988,356—the exports from £14,500 to £867,007 in which the wool alone amounted to £223,000—the colonial fixed revenue from £16,863 to £118,541—and that the sum of £218,790 was between the year 1828 and the year 1840 (inclusive) invested by the colonists in the purchase of crown lands.

"That during the same period, the number of places of worship increased from four to forty-four, and that there was a corresponding increase in the number of schools and other establishments for education.

"That from the year 1824 to 1840, the greater part of the convicts transported from England were sent to New South Wales, and only a small proportion to this island, who immediately upon their landing were dispersed over the colony as labourers and servants.

"That from the rapid increase of the free colonists, and the limited number of convicts sent to Van Diemen's Land, those among the latter who became free, or who by their good conduct were allowed to work on their own account, obtained full employment at high wages, thus having the strongest stimulus to good behaviour; and from this circumstance, but especially from each convict being at once separated from his associates, and accustomed to regular labour, and from the facility with which a moderate number could be kept in order, the majority of convicts in Van Diemen's Land were industrious and useful members of society, and the security of life and property was as complete in this island as in any county in England.

"That from 1824 Van Diemen's Land was, therefore, no longer merely a penal settlement, as in 1804 when it was first occupied, but a colony established under the sanction and encouragement of the English government, and supplied with a certain amount of convict labour which the settlers could readily employ, and for which they paid by defraying the whole expense of the convicts after their arrival.

"That during the sixteen years in which the prosperity of the colony was so remarkable, the proportion of convicts to that of free inhabitants constantly and regularly decreased, so that in 1840 the number of convicts as compared to the number of free inhabitants was little more than one-half the number in 1824.

"That in the year 1840 the home government dis-

continued sending convicts to New South Wales, and this small island was converted into the sole penal settlement of the British empire, the sole receptacle for all criminals transported from every part of your Majesty's vast dominions—from England, Ireland, and Scotland—from Canada, India, and Africa—and latterly also for all criminals transported from your Majesty's recent possessions in China.

"That in thus converting a flourishing British colony into an immense gaol, the free inhabitants had no voice—that their consent to an alteration so fatal to their interests was never obtained nor ever asked, and that they had not even the option given them, of selling their property to the government and leaving the island—a measure which your petitioners do not deny the British government had a right to subject us to, if the change had been for the general benefit of the empire.

"That in none of the notices issued by the government, either to free settlers or to free mechanics and labourers, is there a single intimation given that at any time, or under any circumstances, this colony would be placed under the present system; that we believe it was never thought of until 1840—that not a single colonist ever anticipated it—that, on the contrary, the increase of the population and the whole system of our government led us to look forward to the time when transportation to this colony would altogether cease—that many circumstances induced us to entertain this view, and we especially refer to the petition from this colony for a free representative assembly in the year 1838, to which your Majesty was pleased to return a very favourable answer, it being obvious that to a merely penal colony a free assembly could not be granted, or, if granted, that it would be useless.

"That your petitioners were in total ignorance of the details of the new transportation system until within the last few months, when part of the instructions sent by the right honourable the secretary of state for the colonies to the lieutenant-governor was published in the colonial newspapers.

"That from these instructions we learn that all male convicts sentenced to transportation for life, and a portion of those transported for fifteen years, are first to be sent to Norfolk Island, where they are to be kept not less than two years, and to be then transferred to Van Diemen's Land, that the number of criminals to be thus disposed of is estimated at 1,000 a year—that these convicts, and also all those transported in the first instance to Van Diemen's Land, are to be kept in probation gangs, each consisting of from 250 to 300 men, in which each convict was to remain not less than one year, or more than two years, (except in case of misconduct, when he may be detained several years)—that he is then to receive a pass which enables him to engage in private service for wages, and if he cannot obtain employment, he is to remain in the service of government, receiving merely food and clothing.

"That under the new system 13,761 male convicts and 2,492 females have been landed in this island between 1st January, 1841, and 31st October, 1844.

"That our only means of keeping these men under any kind of control are the few soldiers that are detached from head-quarters and the police of the colony.

"That the expense of this police, which is chiefly occupied in protecting us against criminals forced upon the colony against our strongest wishes, is borne by our colonial revenue,—that a further large

part of that revenue is sunk in various expenses connected with the new convict system; as one instance of which, we state that, from January, 1843, to June, 1844, the expense of witnesses at the supreme court (exclusive of the quarter sessions) was £2,447 10s. 6d., of which £2,208 was for witnesses on trials of convicts,—that the large sums which the local government cannot avoid thus applying without leaving us altogether unprotected, have already created considerable colonial debt, the whole of which has been incurred on account of the new convict system, and which, as far as we can see, must increase: thus, not only anticipating our revenues, but embarrassing the colonial government, and depriving it of the means of undertaking any works of public utility.

"That before the meeting of the legislative council in February last, the lieutenant-governor appointed a committee to report upon the colonial finance, that this committee appointed a stamp tax, further taxes on tea, and other imported commodities, a tax upon dogs, and taxes (in the form of licences) for carrying on various branches of trade; that an act for taxing tea and other imports was thereupon laid before the council, the members of which are all nominated by the crown, that petitions against this act, numerously signed by the colonists, and pointing out the injustice of taxing them for the coercion of British criminals, were presented to the lieutenant-governor in council,—that the act was notwithstanding passed, and is now law,—and that in addition to the previous colonial debt, arrangements were made during the same sitting of council for a loan of £25,000 from one of the colonial banks.

"That your petitioners have thus to pay taxes imposed by a council in which they have no representative, and levied, not for any colonial purpose, but to support the new convict system which is fast destroying the colony.

"That we are aware that the funds derived from the sale of crown lands were given up to the colonial revenue in Van Diemen's Land and also in New South Wales, in consideration of each colony paying its police; but we remind your Majesty that that arrangement was made in 1836, when the greater part of the convicts were sent to New South Wales, and when the crown lands were sold at five shillings an acre; whereas, since the transfer of the land fund the home government has raised the minimum price to twenty shillings an acre, at which (even if the colony were not in its present circumstances) these lands are almost quite unsaleable; and that, in fact, the land fund has fallen from £52,905 in 1840, to £8,913 for the first three quarters of the year 1844, and is estimated by his excellency to produce no more than £2,000 for the present year.

"That the police thus paid by the colony, although enormous in proportion to the population, is far too limited to give efficient protection to the colonists, the convicts being spread over the island in gangs of from 200 to 300 each.

"That already under the new system crime has increased to an alarming extent:—that in 1840 there were 507 prosecutions for crime in the supreme court and quarter sessions, of which 407 were against convicts; while in the first eleven months of the year 1844, there were (besides numberless offences tried before the magistrates) no less than 812 prosecutions in those courts, of which 713 were against convicts or those who had been convicts.

"That by keeping criminals in large gangs, as at

present, they cannot be benefited or improved, but on the contrary become deteriorated; that from the numbers already sent, their strongest stimulus to good conduct has been withdrawn, for the free settlers cannot employ them; that of those who have earned permission to work for themselves there are already 2,000 unemployed, and without the chance of employment: and that it is impossible that the good conduct of any man, whether a convict or not, can continue, who is compelled to associate exclusively with criminals, and who is without any prospect of bettering his condition.

"That this unbounded supply of convict labour, has of necessity thrown out of employment many of the free labourers who were induced by the government to emigrate hither, and must soon drive them out of Van Diemen's Land, thus further lessening the proportion of free inhabitants in the colony.

"That we are in a state of continual dread and anxiety for ourselves and our families owing to the number of convicts by whom we are surrounded; that we feel we have no security for life or property; that the moral condition of the colony is daily becoming worse and worse; that no regulations, however well intended, no government, however able, no improvement in detail, can counteract the evils of the enormous mass of criminals that are poured upon our shores; and that if the present system of transportation continues, we must, at whatever sacrifice, abandon a colony which will become unfit for any man to inhabit who regards the highest interests of himself or of his children.

"That in the violent commercial convulsions which have been felt during the last two years in all the Australian colonies, our colonial property has fallen more than one-half in value, and that much distress has been thus occasioned; but this distress is aggravated ten-fold by the state to which the transportation system has reduced us, and by the gloomy prospect of the future.

"That the large government expenditure under the present system is of some pecuniary benefit to us in the depressed condition of our affairs, but we cannot put it in competition with interests of a higher nature, or allow it for a moment to weigh against the moral evils which that system produces.

"That under the circumstances which we have thus detailed to your Majesty, the prosperity of this colony is at an end; that its commerce must decay, and its lands become almost valueless; that no new capital is now invested in it, and no new emigrants now come to it, and that we look for none, for we ourselves would never have emigrated to Van Diemen's Land had we foreseen its present state.

"That there is yet a more fearful evil produced by the present system of transportation; that it is reported and believed that the unhappy men sent to Norfolk Island have sunk into deeper pollution and depravity, and that if such men are added to the unbounded number of criminals already in Van Diemen's Land, this island and the neighbouring colonies, among which they must ultimately be diffused, will exhibit a spectacle of vice and infamy such as the history of the world cannot parallel.

"That the removal of the various evils which the transportation system causes to the free colonists, is within the scope of that power which the Almighty has placed in your hands; that we cannot doubt your Majesty's willingness to remedy them; and that, even in our present depressed situation, we shall

await your Majesty's decision with the confident hope that they will be removed.

"Your petitioners humbly pray your Majesty that the number of convicts in this island may as speedily as possible be reduced to that which existed in 1840; that transportation to the colony may cease until this object is effected; that meanwhile adequate protection may be afforded to the colonists, and better means adopted for the moral and social improvement of the convicts; that the colony may be relieved from every expense occasioned by convicts not in the employment of settlers, and that arrangements may be made for the gradual and total abolition of transportation to Van Diemen's Land.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

On the 24th of December, 1849, a great public meeting was held at Launceston, in order to promote free institutions, and to urge the discontinuance of transportation. The requisition convening the meeting was signed by twenty-three of the oldest and most respected magistrates of the northern division of the island, and after several eloquent speeches, petitions to the Queen, and to both houses of parliament, were unanimously adopted.

The petitioners state that within a recent period of four years, upwards of 16,000 convicts have been introduced into Van Diemen's Island, and allege that this had been the reason why so many free persons have left the island; the number who have done so since 1841, being "estimated at not less than 12,000;" this emigration having been necessitated by the "overflowing supply of the labour of convicts not permitted to quit the colony, but allowed to work for themselves, and to compete with the free colonists, while they are able and willing to do so, but who are supported by the government in idleness when they are out of work, or not disposed to work."* The petitioners farther allege that there are now 26,268 male and 4,578 female convicts in the island, and that if this system be continued it must end in the moral degradation of the free population of the colony.

The number of convicts sent to Van Diemen's Island since its formation as a penal settlement, in 1803, would equal above two-thirds of the total population, free and bond, now in the colony. According to returns before me, shewing the name and date of arrival of the different ships which reached the colony, and the number of convicts on board each vessel, between 1817 and 1848, a period of thirty-one years, it appears that the males were in number 47,814, and the females 9,045—total, 56,819. Of the males,

* Petition to the House of Lords.

28,258 belonged to what has been termed the "*old class*," which arrived between August, 1817, and March, 1840; 1815 belonged to the "*probation class*," and arrived between June, 1840, and March, 1847; and 901 to the "*ticket-of-leave class*," between September, 1847, and July, 1848. The number during each year is shewn as follows:—

Year.	Males.	Females.	Year.	Males.	Females.
1817	268	—	1833	2,563	241
1818	581	—	1834	1,380	151
1819	649	—	1835	1,944	301
1820	1,398	161	1836	2,022	310
1821	1,017	61	1837	1,183	113
1822	806	45	1838	2,186	284
1823	913	117	1839	1,376	302
1824	705	50	1840	1,281	184
1825	684	129	1841	2,682	626
1826	510	100	1842	4,699	681
1827	854	214	1843	3,048	684
1828	1,028	172	1844	3,979	649
1829	929	181	1845	2,243	607
1830	1,900	235	1846	866	340
1831	1,899	340	1847	645	624
1832	1,051	149	1848	661	1,000

By an official return, signed "James Thompson, registrar," the number, of late years, is greater than the above: for during the sixteen years ending with 1846, the convicts who arrived were—males, 36,382; females, 6,195 = 42,577.

According to statements laid before the colonial minister by Mr. Jackson, on 12th March, 1849, the social status of 38,133 adult inhabitants is thus classified:—

Male convicts, under sentence	22,678
Men whose sentences have expired	8,832
Females under sentence	3,936
Females whose sentences have expired	2,687

The colonial agent, however, while faithfully fulfilling his duty in laying these and other representations before his Majesty's ministers, frankly bears high personal testimony in favour of the proceedings of Earl Grey, and admits the difficulties with which the subject is surrounded. Mr. Jackson, in the above-quoted letter to Mr. B. Hawes, M.P., under-secretary of state for the colonies, says—

"Lord Grey's anxious desire to consult the welfare of the colony, is conspicuous both in his professions and his acts. The colony is indebted to his lordship for the surrender of the land fund, his constant endeavours to cause improvements in the discipline of the convicts, his measures adopted for sending out the wives and families of deserving convicts, and, at least, his *reduction* of the number and the improved character of the convicts to be sent there in future. I hope the colonists will not be slow to acknowledge these acts. I am, however, better able than those distant colonists to appreciate the various difficulties which his Lordship has to encounter."

It is understood that the chief obstacle which prevents a compliance with the wishes of the colonists, arises from the very large expenditure which has been incurred by the British treasury in Van Diemen's Island, in making it a fitting receptacle for convicts, and in the well-organized and efficient superintendency and police establishment which are maintained on the island, not merely for the guarding of the prisoners, but with a view to their continuous employment, instruction, and reformation, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter.

I have, in the previous volume, expressed my own opinion concerning the transportation of convicts (in limited numbers) to distant settlements, where, as in Western Australia for instance, labour on public works is urgently required, and can now be procured only at an enormous expense; nor do I see a better mode of employing those, who, having forfeited their liberty by the commission of crime, have rendered themselves a disgrace and a danger to the state, than by thus preventing their being also a useless burthen to it. This, I hold, cannot be better done than by employing them in preparing new settlements for the reception of free settlers; in the construction of forts and harbours, and roads; in hewing down forests, and in the numerous toilsome and laborious tasks necessary to convert the wilderness into a fitting abode for civilized man. But it is one thing to use convict labour as a means of assisting the exertions of the free citizens, and quite another to employ it to such an extent as to overwhelm their exertions by its undue preponderance. That this has unfortunately been the case in Van Diemen's Island, appears to be very generally believed.

Earl Grey himself frankly admitted, in his able speech in the House of Lords, 14th March, 1850, on moving the second reading of the "*convicts prisons bill*," that—

"The whole colony was thrown into confusion and disorder, owing to the large number of convicts who had no employment. This led to a state of things which was absolutely frightful: the demoralization which took place among the probation gangs was shocking to contemplate."

At the close of 1840, the number of convicts in the island was no more than 7,942; between 1840 and 1847, inclusive, the number of convicts who arrived was—males, 20,532; females, 3,910 = 24,474. Captain Stokes, R.N., who was employed for five years in surveying Australia and Van Diemen's Island, visited the various settlements, and judged for himself of their actual state.

After speaking in high terms of the "full tide of prosperity that covered the island in 1810," he proceeds to observe—

"Everything wore a smiling prospect: the fields were heavy with harvests; the roads crowded with traffic; gay equipages filled the streets; the settler's cottage or villa was well supplied with comforts, and even with luxuries; crime, in a population of which the majority were convicts, or their descendants, was less in proportion than in England; the exports, for the first time, exceeded the imports; trade was brisk; agriculture increasing; new settlers were arriving; everything betokened progress; no one dreamed of retrogression or decay."

To this picture the observant officer adds—

"In four years all this was reversed; and though many other causes may have co-operated in producing this change, it seems acknowledged by most persons, that the result is chiefly traceable to the disproportionate increase in the amount of population, which first checked free immigration; and secondly, by glutting the labour market, the free population was necessarily displaced, and those who had actually established themselves on the island as their second home, were driven away from it."

The most recent measure adopted by her Majesty's government for the purpose of mitigating the evils arising from too rapid an influx of convicts, was the introduction of military pensioners. In December, 1849, Earl Grey announced to Sir William Denison, the governor of Van Diemen's Island, that parliament having granted £30,000 for promoting emigration to those colonies to which convicts are sent, her Majesty's government, with a view of introducing a body of loyal settlers, and also of adding to the internal security of the colony, and increasing its means of military defence, had resolved on gradually introducing military pensioners as guards in convict ships, such pensioners to be accompanied by their wives and children, and commanded by a commissioned officer. The local government was directed to make arrangements, and keep some accommodation vacant in Hobart Town, or its vicinity, for the reception of these men and their families on their first arrival. The act 6 and 7 Viet., c. 95, provides for the enrolment of pensioners for occasional duty in the United Kingdom; and 10 and 11 Viet., c. 54, extend the provisions of the previous act to the colonies. Under the royal sign manual, this description of force in Van Diemen's Island is fixed at 500 men. Earl Grey directed, on 13th December, 1849, that the pensioners should have some vacant accommodation provided for their lodging on their first arrival, and as soon as practicable, be placed on certain small plots, of two to five acres,

of land, which should become their own after seven years' service as enrolled pensioners in the colony, provided they should have fulfilled the conditions of their agreement. The governor was also authorized to employ the labour of convicts in preparing their allotments, and helping them to erect dwellings; the entire cost to be incurred for their houses not to exceed the rate of fifteen pounds a head on the whole number of pensioners. An *esprit de corps* was to be fostered by these retired soldiers being, as far as possible, settled in one neighbourhood, within reach of schools for their children, and of the means of receiving religious instruction, and of attending divine worship. With the exception of twelve days in the year, appointed for military exercise, and of the liability to be called out in support of the civil authority, or for the defence of the colony, the pensioners are to merge in the general working population, and live by their own industry. The bedding supplied by government during the voyage is given to the emigrant soldiers and their families; and the secretary of state directs, that if the pensioners be unable, immediately on landing, to obtain a good livelihood by private engagements, that employment be offered them on public works as labourers, such employment not to extend beyond the first six months after their arrival in the colony. Great credit is due to Earl Grey for this statesman-like and generous policy.

The statistics given in a subsequent chapter preclude the necessity of dwelling, in this place, on the existing social position of the colony, which, under all circumstances, is singularly creditable to the free settlers.

The following is a list of the lieutenant-governors of Van Diemen's Island, and of the officers temporarily administering the government since the formation of the colony:—

Lieutenant-governors.	From	To
Lieut.-col. D. Collins, R. Marines	Feb. 16, 1804	Mar. 24, 1810
Lieut. Edward Lord,	May 24, 1810	Feb. 1812
Capt. Murray, H.M. 73rd Reg		
Lieut.-col. Gills	Feb. 1812	Feb. 4, 1813
Lieut.-col. T. Davey, R. Marines	Feb. 4, 1813	April 9, 1817
Lieut.-col. W. Sorell	April 9, 1817	May 14, 1824
Lieut.-col. George Arthur	May 14, 1824	Oct. 30, 1836
Lieut.-col. K. Snodgrass (acting)	Oct. 31, 1836	Jan. 5, 1837
Captain Sir J. Franklin, R.N.	Jan. 6, 1837	Aug. 21, 1843
Sir J. E. E. Wilmot, Bart.	Aug. 22, 1843	Oct. 13, 1846
Charles Jos. Latrobe (acting)	Oct. 13, 1846	Jan. 26, 1847
Sir W. T. Denison, R.E.	Jan. 26, 1847	—

Note.—Lieutenant-colonel D. Collins died on the 24th March, 1810; Lieutenant-colonel T. Davey, on the 2nd May, 1823; and Sir J. E. E. Wilmot, Bart., on the 3rd February, 1817.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL FEATURES—COAST LINE, AND ADJACENT ISLANDS, BAYS, AND HARBOURS—MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, AND LAKES—DIVISIONS—CHIEF TOWNS—AND GENERAL TOPOGRAPHY.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.—Van Diemen's Island is literally a land of hill and valley, mountain and stream, and it may be added, of forest, flood, and fell. It is true indeed that its loftiest ranges, when compared with the mighty Himalaya, the Andes, or the Alps, appear as insignificant as do its streams (including even the beautiful Derwent) to the traveller who has been borne on the broad bosom of the Ganges, Amazon, or Danube; but its immense forests of unfading, though somewhat sombre green, impart to its aspect a peculiar stamp of massive grandeur. Its general character is moreover decidedly mountainous, the whole surface having been apparently heaved up by some mighty convulsion, or series of convulsions, in masses of all shapes and sizes—sometimes of barren rock, though more frequently densely wooded; but in either case too often rugged and impracticable, abounding in abrupt acclivities and almost inaccessible gullies; in other places forming grassy and lightly timbered slopes, whose verdure, though of a browner hue than that of our English meadows, is yet enlivened by the yellow buttercup, that homely flower so dear to the immigrant; elsewhere it forms luxuriant flats, generally of eight to ten thousand acres, surrounded in irregular circles by densely-wooded hills, whose loftiest summits are from April to October capped with snow. This latter description of country is frequent in the interior, on which several extensive lakes are situated in a kind of elevated table-land. The northern portion of the island also possesses fertile and extensive plains; the southern is extremely hilly; but in the west and south-west a very unexpected proportion of available land has been recently discovered. On the banks of the numerous streams a line of rich soil is almost invariably found, subject however to occasional floods; for this serious inconvenience, the extremely undulating nature of the country, though to a great extent the cause, offers a remedy by presenting facilities for a sound system of drainage, which if carried out would likewise render the marshes and swamps, now both unprofitable

and unsightly, not merely available for cultivation, but extraordinarily productive.

The proportion of land adapted either for the plough or for pasture has been differently estimated, and the calculation at the best can be but imperfect and unsatisfactory, since the difficulty of forming a just opinion of the quality of land without practical experience of its capabilities, has been repeatedly proved by the opposite opinions expressed by explorers of the same tract. The general opinion is, I believe, that including the whole extent with which we are now acquainted, about two-fifths is the very utmost that can be considered available, and of this three-fourths is pasture-ground. The island is by all accounts so densely wooded that it would appear strange that there should be so much pasturage, but it must be remembered that the Tasmanian trees are chiefly eucalyptæ, and whether boldly erect and widely ramified, or stunted in their growth, they very rarely yield so dense a shade as to materially impede the vegetation of the grasses, which Strzelecki declares to be in many localities untrodden by flocks and herds, luxuriant beyond description, "and extending from the level of the sea to (almost) the highest altitudes of the colony." He instances the lower parts of Ben Lomond, Ben Nevis, Dry's Bluff, and Lake St. Clair, between an altitude of 3,000 and 4,200 feet.

Having thus stated the peculiarly rugged and unpromising nature of some parts of the island, it is only right to mention on the other hand, the testimony of Lieutenant Jeffreys, who quite in the early days of its settlement "crossed from Hobart Town to Port Dalrymple, a distance of 125 miles, in a barouche, with three and sometimes four horses in hand, and yet had not more than twenty miles of what could possibly be called a road, the whole being a beautiful level pasture, with but few trees to obstruct the view or the passage." The country, indeed, could sustain at least three million people.

COAST LINE AND ADJACENT ISLANDS.—The shores of Van Diemen's Island are in

general high and rocky, except on the north, where they form the southern limits of Bass Strait, and are chiefly characterized by low sandy beaches; to the south-east they are deeply indented and bordered by islands; to the south-west they are abrupt, and present the barren, rugged aspect which might be expected from their exposure to the storms and chilling winds that blow direct from the polar regions; but on all sides they form capes, headlands, and points, and afford safe anchorages.

In tracing the varied features which distinguish the Tasmanian coasts, the magnificent estuary of the chief river claims the first notice. The mouth of the *Derwent*, on whose western bank Hobart Town is built, has two entrances, the one named *Storm Bay* by Tasman, from the tempestuous weather he there encountered (see page 1); the other, *D'Entrecasteaux Channel*, in honour of Bruni D'Entrecasteaux, the celebrated French admiral, by whom it was discovered in 1792, while commanding an expedition in search of the unfortunate La Perouse.

Storm Bay (in a north-east by east direction from *Tasman's Head* to *Cape Pillar*) is about thirty-five miles wide, and completely open to winds from the south and south-east; the depth at half-a-mile from *Cape Raoul* is fifty fathoms; in the middle of the bay it is thirty-five fathoms, gradually decreasing towards *Bruni Island*, and in a direct line from thence about north by west to *Betsey's Island*, shoals to twenty-five, sixteen, and twelve fathoms. It opens into *North* or *Frederick Henry Bay*, which is sixteen miles long, and in some places six and-a-half miles broad, the greater part perfectly land-locked, and affording good anchorage in two to fifteen fathoms water. North bay to the southward opens into *Norfolk Bay*, which is nine miles long, by three miles broad, completely sheltered, and having in no part less than four fathoms. This fine haven is bounded to the eastward by *Forestier's Peninsula*, which is connected with the main land at its northern and southern extremity, by very narrow isthmuses, which at some future day may probably be cut through so as to afford more ready inlet or exit for vessels on the east coast.

Adventure Bay, on the south-west shore of Storm bay, has good shelter from west and south-west gales, but a heavy surf generally breaks on the beach. *Fluted Cape*, which forms its south-east extremity, is high, steep, and projecting, composed of

circular basaltic columns standing close together, in the form of the barrel of an organ, and covered with trees. *Penguin Island*, adjacent, is small, of moderate height, and also clothed with timber.

Bad Bay, at the southern extremity of Bruni island, deserves its name, being exposed to all the fury of the south-west winds. *Cape Bruni* and *Tasman's Head*, on either side of this bay, bear S. 79°, east eight miles.

D'Entrecasteaux Channel, the south-west entrance to the Derwent, is a continuous line of land-locked harbours, being in length about thirty miles, and varying in breadth from two to eight miles, with a depth of from six to thirty fathoms, on a black muddy bottom. Throughout its whole extent, it offers a magnificent series of panoramic views. The ship in which I sailed entered the channel at midnight, leaving behind (at Bruni Head) a severe tempest. When the morning dawned, she lay at anchor with her bowsprit almost among the trees of Bruni island, amid scenery which, as a whole, is of surpassing beauty. I have visited the far-famed lakes of Killarney, Lomond, and Geneva, but to me D'Entrecasteaux channel excels them both in grandeur and beauty; the shore on either side is characterized by deep sinuosities and bold projecting headlands; here, a romantic-looking bay, with grassy knolls; there, a wooded eminence, down which a silvery cataract leaps noisily from rock to rock; occasionally a verdant isle breaks the path of the waters, and ever and anon a rustic cottage, thriving farm, or comfortable homestead, with its numerous adjuncts, animate and inanimate, breaks in upon the wild grace of nature, and attest the presence of civilized man. A much-needed lighthouse was erected by Sir John Franklin, when lieutenant-governor, in a favourable position on the south-western extremity of Bruni island, which a wide gap cut in the woodland behind renders easily perceptible from seaward; it serves both by day and by night to warn vessels entering the channel, of the shoals at the mouth, which had, previous to its erection, proved fatal to several vessels. Among these was the *Actæon*, on the reef which has since borne its name. Another very distressing instance was the wreck of the convict ship *George the Third*, in which 134 persons perished, of whom the majority, being convicts, had been kept below, to prevent a general rush to the

boats. The remainder (174 persons) were provisionally saved by a small schooner then engaged in cruising in that vicinity. In July, 1835, the *Enchantress*, a merchant ship, beating up the channel, struck, as it was said, on a *weather shore*, and went down in deep water in fifteen minutes. Soon after the *Wallace*, barque, from Leith, shared the fate of the others. By the aid of the above-mentioned beacon, and of the efficient pilots now stationed on the look-out for vessels, the entrance to D'Entrecasteaux channel is easy at all hours; and once beyond *Partridge Island*, the navigation is, with the most ordinary precautions, safe throughout. There are several excellent havens on both sides; on the eastern or Bruni island shore, are *Taylor Bay* or *Great Cove*, *Little Cove*, *Isthmus Bay*, *Great Bay*, and *Barnes Bay*, capable of receiving the largest vessels. *Great Cove* is spacious, and ill sheltered from the north-west winds, but when these are violent, shelter may be readily obtained in the havens on the opposite coast, of which the first met with (from the southward) is, *Recherche Bay*, so called by the French admiral, after his ship. It is about three miles wide and two miles deep, with anchorage in six to twelve fathoms. Two arms extend, the one to the southward, termed *South Port*, the other to the northward, into which the D'Entrecasteaux and Catamaran rivers flow. *South Port* has a land-locked anchorage, three to five fathoms soundings of fine sand. The shores around are densely wooded, and rise to a considerable height. Fresh water is obtainable from several streamlets, and a projected township called *Ramsgate*, is marked at the bottom of this snug harbour. *North Port* is about a third of a mile wide, at the entrance, but increases to two-thirds immediately within, and extends in a northerly direction nearly two miles, with a depth of five, four, and three fathoms, in black mud, to three-quarters of a mile above the entrance, at a moderate distance from the shores, which are sloping, and covered with thick wood. The waters of this haven are unruffled, even during the violent winds.

Muscle Bay, about six miles north-east of Recherche bay, is some two and-a-quarter miles deep to the westward, with fourteen fathoms in the middle, and six fathoms near the shore. A lagoon runs some distance further west, into which a streamlet flows.

Esperance Bay, six miles and-a-half north-north-east from the preceding, is about one mile and-a-quarter wide, and five miles deep, in a north-west and south-west direction; there are seven fathoms and-a-half in the entrance, and secure anchorage in three to five fathoms. Like the other havens, a small stream disembogues at its head.

The next inlet in the coast is that formed by the really considerable

Huon River, so called from the companion of D'Entrecasteaux, Captain Huon Kermandec, of the *Esperance*. Its estuary extends seven miles north-west by west, and then takes a north by east direction to nearly the same distance. A beautiful islet (comprising about 300 acres), divides its entrance, there about three miles wide, and forms two passages, of which the western is the broadest, but has, in the centre, a small dangerous rock, conspicuous only at low water. Five miles up the Huon is a beautiful bay, named *Swan Port*, agreeably diversified with projecting points of land, clothed with fine timber. Captain Freycinet thus describes it:—

"Its extent in a north and south direction is upwards of four miles, upon a width considerably less: many deep bays present themselves on both sides, with all the necessary accommodation for the safety of vessels. Its coasts, although a little elevated, are, in general, steep: their declivity is gentle, and the remarkable fertility of the soil offers everywhere the most enchanting and varied appearance. In several places *natural quays are formed, easy of access for the largest vessels, or even for the purpose of careening*. The middle of the harbour has from three and-a-half to seven fathoms water, upon a mud and sandy bottom; and with the exception of the interior of some of the bays, a depth of less than three to four fathoms is seldom found at a musket shot's distance."

North-West Bay, or Port, opposite the northern extremity of Bruni island, is of an irregular quadrilateral form, two miles in width, and five miles deep, in a northerly direction. The two points at the entrance are high and rocky; but the other parts of its shores are much less elevated, and everywhere easy of access. Several small streamlets fall into it from the south.

Bruni Island, which separates Storm bay from D'Entrecasteaux channel, is of very irregular form and unequal elevation. In length, it extends north and south about twenty-five miles; its breadth varying from one to seven miles. At the centre, the island is nearly divided into two parts, being connected only by a very narrow isthmus, five miles long. The deeply-indented shores

of Bruni island, attest the power of the great Southern ocean in its unbroken roll, while the basaltic character of its contorted surface, evidences the mighty subterranean power by which it would appear to have been raised above the crust of the globe.

Fluted Cape, on the east coast, presents to the eye an abrupt cut; its immense basaltic columns have been before mentioned.

Tasman's Head, and the other promontories on the southern shore, are high and bold; the northern half of the island is less elevated; vegetation is vigorous; and cultivation is carried on to a limited extent.

The entrance of the *Derwent River*, (properly so called), after passing out of D'Entrecasteaux's channel, round the north point of Bruni island, is marked by *Mount Direction*, and lies between a narrow tongue of land on the east, termed *South Arm*, and a small peninsula, called *Mount Lewis*, which approaches to within three-quarters-of-a-mile of *Kelly's Point*, on Bruni island. A light-house on *Iron Pot Island*, off Cape Direction, guides the navigator. On passing this entrance, the noble river expands into a capacious basin, in whose calm, deep, cerulean waters, many a fine fleet might ride at anchor. The evidences of cultivation are perceptible on either shore, and increase as the voyager proceeds to the anchorage at *Sullivan's Cove*, Hobart Town. There is no danger all the way up; the breadth is from two to four miles: ships may "stand on" within half a cable's length on either side; the holding ground is good in every part—the depth of water nowhere exceeds eighteen fathoms.

Sullivan's Cove is formed by a bend of the land; a low, sloping point shelters the shipping from seaward. The anchorage is good anywhere off the town, in nine to twelve fathoms, on soft mud. Four miles higher up the Derwent is *Risdon, or Rest-down Cove*, where the first settlement was commenced in 1803 (see *history*, p. 4.) The river here contracts to a breadth of less than half-a-mile.

Ralph, or Double Bay, a singularly-formed and secure haven, lies off the eastern shore of the Derwent, and stretches so deeply into the land, as in two places nearly to isolate the tongue of land which separates the Derwent estuary from North bay. It extends six miles, north and south; has a breadth of two miles and-a-half; an entrance a mile and-a-half wide; and soundings from two to seven fathoms.

The smaller islands situated in *Storm* and the contiguous bays, are named *Iron Pot*, *Betsey*, *Sloping*, *Spectacle*, *Garden*, *Quoin*, &c. The first of these lies immediately off Cape Direction (the southern point of Ralph Bay peninsula), leaving only a boat passage between. *Betsey Island*, about two miles and-a-half to the eastward, is high, and only accessible towards its north end. It is about a mile in length, by half a mile in breadth, and was converted, some years ago, into a rabbit warren by the proprietor to whom it was granted: the speculation has proved successful; and the skins bring a good price in the Chinese markets. *Sloping Island* is situated in the channel between Storm and North bays.

It is here necessary to note, that the sand-banks near the entrance of the Derwent river are shifting in some places; and in others gradually accumulating. This is most manifest between the north end of Bruni island and the Iron Pot lighthouse. It should also be remarked, that the presence of sea-weed on these shores, does not always denote shoal water, but merely foul ground: in some places it is found 90 to 120 feet long, growing up to the surface. This is the case off Betsey island, between which, and two flat rocks on the main land, there are five to nine fathoms water, although the water is covered with this gigantic weed.

The tides in the Derwent and in D'Entrecasteaux channel are stated to be very irregular; according to the editor of the *Australian Directory*, or *Sailing Instructions*, published by the Admiralty, in 1833, they rise sometimes eight or ten feet, at others four or five, and occasionally there is no fall of tide for two or three days together. Towards the entrance of the Derwent the water at the surface sometimes runs upwards or downwards for twelve hours at a time, whilst the rise and fall near the shore are at the usual periods. These and other anomalies are probably occasioned by the winds and peculiar curvatures of the land; they do not appear to extend far below the surface, as a counter-current has been found at the bottom. At Macquarie harbour Captain King, during his stay of a fortnight, found the tides very irregular, high water occurring sometimes once, sometimes twice in the twenty-four hours, and in both cases the ebb running twice as long as the flood. Captain Kelly found a strong ebb or flood for nine days together without the water

rising or falling a foot; but during north-west gales the rise was found to be great, subjecting the adjoining low lands to repeated inundations. Quitting this extensive estuary I proceed to trace the coast in a north-easterly direction, commencing with the strange-shaped Dutch-named peninsula, whose south-western and south-eastern extremities are formed by two high column-like points, termed Cape Raoul and Cape Pillar. These capes are distant about nine miles; the intermediate coast falls back in a deep irregular curve, the lower part of which obtained from the French the name of *Mainjon Baie*; to the northward of this is *Port Arthur*, which runs inland for nearly five miles, having an entrance two-thirds of a mile in width, marked on either side by bold and bluff headlands. Its eastern shores are formed by a perpendicular wall of basaltic columns, and iron-stone rock, with a long line of lightly-timbered hills overtopping them and sloping backwards like an immense battery or embankment. Fresh-water streams flow through several rocky gullies, where a landing may be effected during an easterly wind. The western shore has for its seaward extremity a hill nearly 500 feet in height, with a clear round summit and perpendicular sides towards the ocean. Inwards the shore is broken by bays and sandy beaches, behind which extends an undulating tract covered with heath and small shrubs. Its chief havens are *Safety Cove* and *Opossum Bay*, which afford good anchorages for large vessels, the former being backed by an amphitheatre of lofty mountains which, commencing at Cape Raoul, extend to Fortesque bay, and form a complete barrier about three miles from the shore. The country in the vicinity is thickly timbered with valuable wood. Port Arthur has been for several years a penal station for convicts of the worst class; the prisoners' barracks at Safety cove, prettily situated on the sloping side of a point, are extensive, and strongly built. A guard of soldiers posted at *Eagle Hawk Neck* (the isthmus, only 120 yards across, which connects *Tasman's Peninsula* with the main land,) prevents all possibility of escape.

Between Cape Raoul and Port Arthur there are some remarkable chasms in the rocky coast, one of which is 127 feet deep, and very narrow; the sea rushes up it with great violence.

Cape Pillar, in $43^{\circ} 14'$ S., is so called from the strong resemblance which a portion of

it bears to the interior of a gothic cathedral. The basaltic rock is crowned with a thin stratum of soil, in which a few bushes and some grass have taken root; its sides are too steep for ascent. Although a good sea mark, it ought not to be approached too near, as a dangerous reef runs from its base to some distance seaward. Between Cape Pillar and Tasman's island—a black rugged islet, composed like most of the headlands on this coast, of a multitude of rocky columns—there is a passage of sufficient size for small vessels.

Fortesque or Dolomieu Bay, on the east side of the peninsula, is a small haven, with an entrance about a mile broad; a white, sandy beach, and good anchorage.

Monge or Pirate's Bay is large, much exposed, and separated at its head from Norfolk bay, by a very low and narrow isthmus.

Cape Surville and the east coast of *Forrestier's Peninsula* has a high and steep shore, on which the sea breaks with great violence.

Marion Bay is an extensive roadstead, with shelter only in the southern part, where *Port Frederick Henry* is situated, even for small vessels; landing is difficult, owing to numerous rocks and a powerful surf.

Cape Bernier, in $42^{\circ} 46' 5''$ S., is conspicuous from its peculiar conical shape, rather than its height; the adjacent coast is indented with shallow sandy bights: to the northward it becomes steep, with six to seven fathoms close to it.

Maria Island (on which there is a probation station), is about twelve miles long, with an extreme width of seven miles. A low sandy isthmus, nearly overflowed at high tides, connects the mountain masses, which form its extremities. Of these, the northern is steep, 3,000 feet high, and remarkable for two immense rocks rising one above the other, called the Bishop and Clerk. The scenery of Maria island is romantic; the soil is described as generally good, and of great depth in the valleys. Several islets are situated in the channel which separates the island from the main land; the chief is the Lachlan or Middle islet, of an oval form, encircled by large rocks and shingle, without tree or shrub, but having its granitic base covered with fine long grass, said to afford excellent pasture for cattle. The soundings, on entering the channel from the southward, are twenty-five to thirty fathoms, decreasing very quickly to eight or nine, opposite to Oyster bay (the Oyster bay to the west of Maria island is

here intended, not that to the northward), where there is good and spacious anchorage.

Prosser Bay, opposite the north point of Maria Island, has deep water and shelter, but is unapproachable for large vessels, by reason of a great mud bank, with only six to nine feet water on it. Several streams, mostly of salt water, flow from adjacent marshes into this bay, which has no trees in its immediate neighbourhood: at a short distance in the interior, the usual prolific vegetation appears. A chain of mountains runs in a north-east, and also in a south-west direction, four or five miles from the coast.

Cape Bougainville, five miles to the north of the preceding, has a steep and almost inaccessible coast, with thirteen fathoms close to the shore: thence to *Cape Bailey*, the land is less elevated, but still steep and wooded, like that to the southward.

White Rock or Phoques (Seal) Island, opposite a small inlet named *Grindstone Bay*, was some years ago frequented by numbers of sea lions. A little to the north of Grindstone bay is *Little Swan Port*, a boat harbour, with a very shallow entrance, which receives a small river of the same name.

We have now arrived at *Oyster Bay*, a spacious opening fifteen miles long by ten broad, formed on the eastward by *Freyinet's Peninsula* and Schouten island, whose inner shores are low and wooded, though towards the ocean they present a steep, high, and forbidding aspect. The northern shore of the bay is sandy, and opens into *Great Swan Port*, at the head of which is an extensive lagoon, called *Moulting Bay*, the resort of numerous black swans.

Hazard or Refuge Island, on the west shore of Freyinet's peninsula, is of moderate height, well wooded, and contributes to the formation of a good harbour.

Cape Tourville is high;—from thence to beyond *Cape Lodi*, the coast is rocky and barren; towards St. Patrick's Head it appears to be well wooded, and near St. Helen's Point is characterised by several pyramidal points visible from a considerable distance inland.

Eddystone Point is more lofty than *St. Helens*, but from thence the mountains recede into the interior, and the 'iron bound' coast takes a north-west direction to Cape Portland at the entrance of Bass strait.

The north coast of Van Diemen's Island occupies an extent of more than 150 miles from Furneaux to Hunters Islands, and

forms a considerable curve intermediate between Cape Portland and Cape Grim, where-in is situated Ports Dalrymple and Sorell.

Cape Portland, the north-east extremity of Van Diemen's Island, in $40^{\circ} 44' \text{ S. lat.}$, $147^{\circ} 56' 30'' \text{ E. long.}$, is low, with several rocky islets adjacent; the largest, *Swan Island*, is a narrow, hummocky strip of land, one-and-a-half mile long, distant about eight miles to the eastward. The shore east of the cape trends south in rocky heads and beaches; then curves to the westward, forming, with Point Waterhouse, *Ringarooma Bay*, which is seven miles deep and fifteen miles wide. There is a small haven in the bottom of the bay, into which the little and great *Boobyala* or Ringarooma rivers flow; both very small streams. Behind the coast, the eye wanders over apparently interminable woody ranges of irregular height, divided by scrubby gullies.

Waterhouse Island, four miles long by one-and-a-quarter wide, consists of beaches and rocky points rising abruptly to a moderate elevation, the level top being mostly covered with wood. From Point Waterhouse, the coast trends S. 67° W. five or six miles; thence south-south-west in a long sandy beach, subsequently curves to the westward and northward to west of Double Sandy point,—forming a deep bight about seven miles wide, off which lies Ninth Island, a small, level, verdant islet.

Double Sandy Point, is the joint name applied to two projections, closely resembling one another, though almost three miles apart; each overtopped with sandy hillocks,—a low barren tract stretching out in the back ground, and dividing them from the hills which approach the shores near Point Waterhouse. After another curve to the south and north-west, a very prominent bluff, connected with the mountain ranges, becomes conspicuous: it is termed *Stony Head*, and is in $40^{\circ} 58' \text{ S. lat.}$, $147^{\circ} 3' 30'' \text{ E.}$, thirteen miles north, 65° east from Low Head, in $41^{\circ} 3' 30'' \text{ S. lat.}$, $146^{\circ} 47' 30'' \text{ E.}$, which, with *West Head*, five or six miles distant, forms the entrance of—

Port Dalrymple, situate at the mouth of the river Tamar, which above its junction with the sea, flows through a valley formed between two irregular chains of hills, which branch out to the north-west from the great mountain mass of the interior: these hills are, in some places, wide apart; in others they approach each other, and contract the tortuous channel of the river. Care is requisite in approaching Port Dalrymple, especially

from the northward; but the lighthouse on Low Head, a good pilot establishment there, and beacons on the most dangerous rocks inside, render the navigation comparatively easy; the worst reef, called the *Hebe*, after the ship of that name, wrecked there in 1808, is about a quarter of a mile wide. There are several islets in Port Dalrymple; that distinguished as the *Western Arm* is narrow, and not accessible for ships more than three miles; at the entrance the depth is not above three fathoms, but a mile above there are seven fathoms water. The *Middle Arm*, divided near the centre by Middle Head, has numerous shoals and mud flats, with only three fathoms in its deepest channel. *George Town* stands near the entrance of Port Dalrymple, on its eastern shore.

The *Tamar* estuary is navigable for large ships as far as *Swan Point*, three miles above *Middle Island*, but vessels of small draught proceed to Launceston, fifteen miles further. West of Port Dalrymple the coast trends west-south-west for nine miles, being generally low and sandy, with ridges of well wooded hills behind, and at the distance of nine to twelve miles inland, the Asbestos mountains are visible. At the eastern foot of this range is,—

Port Sorell, eleven miles to the west of Low head. The entrance is about one mile wide, but projecting rocks from both shores materially contract the navigable space. The port, after passing its entrance, is found to expand into a capacious basin, into the head of which a considerable stream, called the *Rubicon*, disembogues. Proceeding westward, we arrive at *Port Frederick*, which is narrow, and probably only available for small craft; the Mersey river and its tributaries, flow into it.

Immediately over *Dial Point*, twenty-nine miles from the Tamar, a peaked ridge rises abruptly. Between Port Dalrymple and this point, there are no less than five rivers, all with very short courses, and not navigable except by boats and small craft, and by those only in fine weather, on account of the surf on their bars. From Dial point to a peninsular projection, *Circular Head*, the coast trends N. 70° W.; and as far as *Rocky Cape*, the shore is steep and woody.

Emu Bay, ten miles from Dial point, is a confined anchorage, affording shelter from east winds, and receiving the Emu river.

Table Cape, fifteen miles north-west of

the preceding, is the clifly extremity of a woody flat-topped eminence, visible thirty miles in clear weather from the deck of a ship.

Rocky Cape, intermediate between Table cape and Circular head, has a high pointed summit, with other peaks in the rear. The coast to the westward falls back, forming a sandy bight, into which several streamlets disembogue. *Circular Head*, is a clifly peninsula, joined to the main by a low sandy isthmus. Rising abruptly from the water till its flattened crest attains an elevation of 490 feet, it looks like a huge round tower—while from the east, the connecting link not being perceptible, it appears entirely isolated—the more so, as the land at the back is somewhat lower, and undulates in very gentle slopes. The coast continues broken by numerous rocky projections from this point to *Cape Grim*, the north-west extremity of Van Diemen's Island, a steep, black head, in 40° 44' S. lat., 144° 43' E. long. On the north side of the cape the shore is low, trends in a sandy beach for three or four miles; to the south-south-west is a clifly shore, with a depth of 120 fathoms, three miles off it.

ISLANDS IN BASS STRAIT.—Judging from the position and elevation of the islands at the east and west entrances of this strait (see general map of Australia,) it would seem that those at the *eastern* extremity are the visible links of a chain connecting Wilson's promontory in Australia with Cape Portland in Van Diemen's Island; and those at the *western*, Cape Otway with Cape Grim. The most important of these islands are included among the group situated at the western entrance of Bass strait, and named, strangely enough, in honour of Captain Furneaux, whose opinion concerning the non-existence of the channel in which they are situated has been recorded in a previous chapter.

Flinders or Great Island, the abode for several years of the exiled aborigines, is by far the largest of the Furneaux group, being about 130 miles in circumference. It is barren, and of forbidding aspect; a mountain range of 2,550 feet in height stretches throughout its whole length, bold and precipitous on its western face, but sloping gradually on the eastern, to a low scrubby plain much ent up with lagoons, and terminated by a sandy beach. The lower hills are clothed with timber, chiefly blue gum. The open grassy parts are not numerous,

but some portions are capable of cultivation. The wallabi abounds here, as do also various kinds of wild-fowl. (*Backhouse's Visit to the Australian Colonies*, 1832.) Three pyramidal hills, called *the Patriarchs*, rise conspicuously from the low land, and mark the eastern extremity of the island. A high peak in the south-west bears the name of *Strzelecki*. The northern point is placed by Flinders in $39^{\circ}42'30''$ S. lat., $147^{\circ}53'30''$ E. long.; by King in $39^{\circ}47'$ S. lat.; and by Freycinet in $39^{\circ}41'$ S. lat.

Several small islands, with reefs scattered alongside, border Flinders island, of which the largest, named *Hummock Island*, is between five and six miles long, and scarcely half-a-mile in width. It affords good shelter in westerly winds, and a plentiful supply of fuel. *Babel Islets*, *the Sisters*, and others, are little better than barren rocks.

Barren Island is divided from Flinders island by a channel four miles wide, thickly strewed with islands and shoals, its eastern entrance being almost blocked up with the sandbanks extending off five miles and a-half from *Vansittart* or *Gun-carriage Island*. Between *Capes Barren* and *Franklin*, its eastern and western extremity, Barren island has an extent of twenty-two miles, with a breadth of about five to seven miles. It well deserves its name, its denuded surface and jagged shores deeply indented with caves, and marked by strongly projecting headlands, present a picture of desolation which even the stormy weather so frequent in the strait can scarcely render more dreary. A peak at its eastern extremity rises 1,200 feet above the sea. *Armstrong Channel*, a passage about ten miles long, and from one to four wide, divides Barren from *Clarke Island*. In its western entrance lies *Preservation Island*, which owes its name to the preservation of the crew of a ship that run upon it in a sinking state. This and the adjacent islands abound in "mutton birds."

Clarke Island, which forms the northern shore of *Banks Strait* (one of the entrances to Bass strait), is six and-a-half miles long, by four and-a-half wide; rocky, and chiefly distinguishable by two rounded summits; the highest, 690 feet, resembling a saddle either from the east or west.

Chappell Isles lie to the westward of Barren island; the largest of them has a smooth round hill rising 500 or 600 feet above the level of the sea, which is rendered conspicuous by contrast with the low rocky isles around; it has a slight covering of herbage,

but in other respects appears (according to Flinders and others) nothing superior in fertility to the worst of Furneaux islands, and that is bad indeed. The smaller isles and islets in this vicinity it would be superfluous to particularize, the details connected with them having reference rather to sailing directions than general topography. Of the numerous small clusters scattered between *Flinders Island* and *Wilson Promontory*, the most remarkable are the *Kent Group*, of which the chief islands, named *Deal* and *Erith*, occupy a square of four miles, and are separated by *Murray Pass*, a channel half-a-mile wide. Conical granitic hills, in some cases clothed to their very summits with impervious scrub, are scattered over them. Captain Stokes describes the valleys on the north side of Deal as rich, and states that in one of them, leading from East Cove, he found a quantity of fine carrots, planted by some sealers; their seed having been carried by the wind till the whole valley was full of them. Besides East Cove, there are others on the north-east and south-east sides of this island; but on Erith there is but one, called West Cove, and that subject to violent gusts.

The *Hogan Group*—*Curtis Islands*—*Moncur Islands*, and several others, for the reason before given, it is not necessary to describe separately. How far they might be made available for settlers, or what seems more feasible, for convicts, is yet to be ascertained, but so far as we know at present, they are all bleak, rocky, and barren, offering little inducement except for fishing stations. Guano would, I should think, be found in abundance, and valuable minerals probably exist.

The western entrance of *Bass Strait* formed by the islands near Cirenlar Head and Cape Grim on the north-west coast of Van Diemen's Island, and Cape Otway in Australia, is 108 miles wide. *King's Island*, nearly midway, occupies thirty-five miles of this space, and leaves to the northward a passage of forty-seven miles, and to the south one of thirty-seven miles; the southern is however much impeded by *Reid's Rocks*, the *Conway* and *Bell* sunken rocks, *Albatross Island*, and the *Black Pyramid*; the northern, between King's island and Cape Otway, has only three impediments: first, the *Harbinger Rocks*, N. 74° and N. 88° W., three and a-half to four miles from Cape Wickham, a round hill 594 feet high, on the north point of King's island; second, the *Navarino Rock* lying N.

25° W., one mile and-a-half from the same cape; and third, the reef lying half-a-mile off Cape Otway.*

King's Island (see general map, div. iv.) is thirty-five miles long from north to south, and twelve to fifteen miles broad; not very elevated, but with a few small eminences. A round hill at the north point, according to Flinders, is in 39° 37' S.; 143° 54' E.; according to Freycinet, in 39° 32' S.; 141° 42' E. The latter navigator makes the island about forty miles long, by eighteen miles broad. The western shore is described by Stokes as low, treacherous, and rocky, but good anchorage is found in a sandy bay on the north-west side, and likewise on the north-east side. The sand on the north-east coast is blown up in great ridges, partly over-spread and kept together by a kind of dog-grass; behind these the land rises in gentle elevations, covered with an almost impenetrable brushwood. A small lake of fresh water was found a short distance inland, surrounded by good vegetable soil.

Sea Elephant Bay, on the east side of the island, is a mile in depth, with sheltered anchorage, except when the wind is from the eastward. This haven used to be much frequented by sealers and other persons from Van Diemen's Island, for the purpose of killing sea elephants and seals, for the sake of their oil and skins; but the slaughter has been so great of late years, that these useful animals have almost disappeared both from this and other islands.

The *Hunter Islands*, near the north-west extremity of Van Diemen's Island, consist of three large, and several smaller islets. The principal, named *Hunter*, *Three Hummock*, and *Robins*, are mostly steep, rocky, and slightly elevated, with good anchorage in various places. *Hunter Island* was formerly named *Barren*, an appellation which it is described as fully deserving, being perfectly treeless, but overrun with scrub. *Three Hummock Island* received its name from three peaks on its eastern side, of which the most southerly rises abruptly from the water 790 feet. The whole island is clothed with an impervious scrub, which forms a perfect network. The trees are small and stunted. *Robins Island* leaves only a narrow boat-channel between it and the main, and has a small island close to its north-west extremity, called *Walker Island*, the two together forming an equilateral triangle, with sides of nine miles. *Perkins*

* Stokes' Voyages, vol. ii., p. 492.

Island, to the south-west of Robins island, forms the entrance to Duck bay, the inlet into which the stream of that name flows.

Albatross Island, the most northerly of the Hunter group, when first visited in the memorable voyage of Bass and Flinders, was densely tenanted—not indeed by men and women; for it is a strange fact, that *no aborigines were ever found on any island in Bass Strait*—but by seals, with whom Mr. Bass was obliged to fight his way up the cliffs, and albatrosses, among whom, when arrived at the top, he was forced to make a road with a club. These birds were sitting upon their nests, and deranged themselves only so far as to peck at his legs, in return for his unwelcome intrusion. Backhouse, who visited Albatross island in 1832, states, that above 1,000 were said to have been killed during the preceding year. *Steephead*, *Trefoil*, *Harbour*, the *Petrel*, *Penguin*, *Long Island*, and many others, with their different feathered denizens, need no separate notice.

NAVIGATION.—Bass Strait affords many good anchorages, several of which have been specified: its general navigation has been recently facilitated by the erection of various lighthouses; but before their construction, I passed from the eastward through the Strait, beating against a strong wind, without, I believe, more than ordinary precaution. In a line of soundings from Port Western (Australia), to Circular Head, the greatest depth midway was forty fathoms.

It may be useful to navigators to have the latest account published of the lighthouses in Bass Strait. The following is an abstract of the report of the late Captain Stanley, R.N., of her Majesty's surveying ship *Rattlesnake*:—

"1. *Port Dalrymple—Low Head*.—Base of house, 92 feet above high-water mark; centre of the light, 140 feet above the same level. Upper part, red; lower, white. Light, 15 lamps, revolving once in a minute. Admirably placed for leading vessels into the harbour.

"2. *Banks Straits—Goose Island* (one of the Furneaux islands), southern end.—Base of house, 30 feet; centre of light, 108 feet above high-water mark. Supporting column, 71 feet; and 24 feet in diameter at the base. Light, fixed, on the new principle, with a single lamp surrounded with lenses, and may be seen from a distance of 30 miles. The consumption is on an average a gallon of oil every night throughout the year. There is an officer and three men. Expense per annum, £292.

"3. *Banks Strait—Swan Island*, north end.—Base, 24 feet; centre of light, 104 feet above high-water mark. Supporting column, 71 feet, and 24 feet diameter. Upper part, red; lower, white. Light, very

good; same principle as at Goose island; a faint light constantly; a bright flash of two and a-half seconds' duration every five minutes; seen at Goose island (30 miles distant) in clear weather. On both these islands there is fresh water; provisions and stores are sent to the superintendent and the three men kept at each station, from Hobart Town, every six months. Expense per annum, £384.

"4. *Kent Group*.—Light-house about seven-tenths of a mile N. 10° W. (true) from the southern extremity of Deal island, which forms the east part of Kent group. Base, 829 feet; height to the lantern, 52 feet; whole height of pillar, 67 feet; upper half, red; lower, white. The light consists of 21 lamps, arranged in three sides, each containing 7 lamps; it revolves once in 54 seconds, and was seen from the deck of a small vessel 37 miles. Two substantial stone buildings for store and dwelling have been constructed near the lighthouse, which was commenced in April, 1846, and has cost for the building £1,840; for the lantern and five years' stores, £1,500 = £3,340. The great height of the lantern is considered by Lieut. Yule to be an objection, as the light is more liable to be obscured by fogs. There is water and firewood on the island, and pasturage for sheep. A superintendent and three men are maintained there at an expense of £484 per annum.

"On the Australian shore of Bass strait there is a lighthouse at the eastern and another at the western entrance. The former is on *Gabo Island*, five miles to the S.W. of Cape Howe, with which it is connected by a reef one mile and-a-half long and three-fourths broad; the latter is on Cape Otway, 248 feet above high-water mark. The centre of the lantern 52 feet above the base. The entire cost of this light, including the erection of the lighthouse, keepers' quarters, and storehouses, and exclusive of the lantern, has been about £3,700. There is a lighthouse at *Shortland's Bluff*, Port Phillip, and another at *Point Gellibrand*, on the western side of Hobson's Bay.

Eastern and Western Straits-men.—Before leaving Bass Strait, it may be well to notice the origin and habits of what may be called its *resident population*, which at some future day may probably be largely increased. From an early period after the establishment of settlements at New South Wales and Van Diemen's Island, the strait was frequented by a class of seamen called "sealers," who were placed on the different islands, for the purpose of catching seals, whose oil and skins they prepared for the vessels to which they belonged. Many of them became so attached to this wild mode of life, that when their ships were leaving the neighbourhood, they preferred to remain behind, receiving, in some instances, a boat and stores as payment for their work. Their numbers, also, were doubtless augmented by runaway convicts, who possibly prompted the daring forays made on either shore, to carry off the native women, frequently after severe contests with their natural protectors, who, it is however alleged, sometimes sold

them for seals' flesh, which they ate, the women themselves appearing glad to escape from their savage spouses, by whom they were treated literally as beasts of burthen. The poor creatures, in too many instances, benefitted little by the change of masters; at the best they fell into lawless and immoral hands, and in some cases appear to have been treated with cruelty. Such at least is the opinion of James Backhouse (of the Society of Friends), who visited Flinders island in 1832, when it was the abode of the exiled aborigines: he there conversed with several women who had been kidnapped by the sealers, but who, in different ways had escaped to the settlement; they told him of the manner in which they had been flogged when they did not pluck "mutton birds," or perform their other tasks satisfactorily; and one old woman, named Boatswain, spread her hands to the wall to show the manner in which they were tied up, and cried out with a failing voice till she sank on the ground as if exhausted! This tyrannical conduct was however probably confined to the runaway convicts, for ill-usage of anything defenceless, especially in female guise, whether old or young, civilized or savage, is notoriously inconsistent with the character of British seamen.

In process of time the sealers, or straits-men, as they were called, when in consequence of the increasing scarcity of seals they no longer confined themselves to that pursuit, separated, or rather classed themselves into *eastern* and *western*, according to the position of the islands they respectively appropriated, more than two families seldom residing on the same.

Their habitations are generally of slab and plaster, rude, but tolerably clean and comfortable, for they have gradually obtained various necessaries by barter from the whaling vessels that pass through the straits, or by means of a biennial visit to Launceston, from whence they never, it is said, bring back intoxicating liquors. The half-caste children have been previously described (p. 10) as a strong, bold race, of ruddy dark complexion, well adapted for sailors, and excelling as headmen in whaling ships, where the keenness of their half-savage glance, and their dexterity in throwing the spear, make them invaluable as harpooners. Captain Stokes, who saw many of both the eastern and western straitsmen, speaks favourably of them in general, and especially

notices five-and-twenty children who were being brought up on *Preservation Island* and in its vicinity, adding, "their fathers, I am happy to say, give them all the instruction in their power; many can read the Bible, and a few write."

Preservation Island, when visited by Captain Stokes in 1842, was inhabited by an old sealer, named James Monro, known as the king of the Eastern Straitsmen, another man, and three or four native women; the embryo settlement comprising merely a few rude huts, with goats and fowls, and some cultivation around. Monro had then dwelt in this desolate place twenty-three years. A Captain Smith, who had met with a reverse of fortune, and fled from the abodes of civilized man, a few years since, took up his residence at King's island, with his wife, daughter, and three or four sons. In a slab hut, formed of boards, thatched with grass, this interesting family dwelt: their civilization manifesting itself, among other evidences, in the presence of a good library and musical instruments. This modern Crnsoe subsequently returned to society, and is now, I believe, a comfortable settler in Van Diemen's Island. At *New Year's Island*, on the north-west side King's island, Stokes found an old English sealer living with two native women, who were clothed in very comfortable great coats made of kangaroo skins, and seemed quite contented with their condition. They assisted in working a whale boat adapted for the rough weather encountered in the strait by a canvass half deck, which being in the centre could be rolled up on the gunwale in fine weather.

The more available parts of the islands on which this mixed race reside have been brought into cultivation; grain thrives tolerably, potatoes, peas, cabbages, and other garden vegetables admirably. The chief occupation of the people, now that the kangaroo, wallabi, seal, and sea elephant have been almost entirely destroyed, is in catching the *sooty petrels*, called also the *Sheerwater* and the *Mutton birds*, from the fancied resemblance in taste of their flesh to that of sheep. These birds visit the islands annually in countless swarms, between the 15th and 20th of November, for the purpose of incubation. Each hen bird lays one or two eggs about the size of a goose egg, and somewhat similar in flavour. The male sits by day, the female by night, each going to sea in turn to procure its food. The nests

are made by burrowing two or three feet in the soft ground; and in favourable spots so close to each other, that in some of the islands it is scarcely possible to walk without falling, the surface being literally honey-combed. The native women collect the eggs and young birds, not however without danger, as venomous snakes are frequently found in the holes. When the sealers desire to take the birds in large quantities, a hedge is constructed sometimes half-a-mile in length, a little above the beach; towards daylight, when the male petrels are leaving their nests to go to sea, they run down towards the water, not being able to rise off the level ground. On being obstructed by the hedge they are driven by the sealers stationed at either end towards the centre, where a pit, several feet deep, is dug to receive them, and in which they smother each other. The birds are then plucked, the feathers carefully cured, packed in bags, and sent to Launceston for sale, when they bring about three-pence a pound. The feathers of about twenty birds weigh one pound, and Captain Stokes says he saw at one time thirty bags, the cargoes of two boats, and the spoil of 18,000 birds. Some of the petrels are preserved by dry smoking, and form the principal food of the islanders during part of the year.

A remarkable fact connected with this subject, noted by Backhouse and others, is the selection of different islands by different species of birds, in which they are doubtless directed by the various structure of the coasts. The albatross and petrel requiring a cliff or abrupt rise, from whence to wing their strong and long enduring flight, choose for their temporary abode rocky elevations; the penguin, which cannot fly, requires a low sloping shore, while some of the other species take possession of the small islands not occupied by those already named, simply because they are not inhabited by the carnivorous quadrupeds which, though not destructive to men, are so to birds.

The *Western and South-Western Coast* of Van Diemen's Island is characterized by mountain peaks and ridges, with gaps and fissures of every possible form, ever changing as the point of view is shifted. The inland lofty chains terminate in tremendous cliffs which project from two to four miles into the sea, at nearly equal distances from each other, with a breadth of about two miles, the little bays, with their sandy beaches, appear backed by dense scrub or arid

heaths. In sailing along this coast I was vividly impressed with the wildly grand character of these enormous buttresses, and the determined front which they present to the terrific storms and furious billows that assail them from the icy regions of the southern pole.

Resuming our examination of the coastline from Cape Grim, the point at which we left it, and proceeding to the southward, we pass a small height called *Studdland Bay*, then the *Mount Cameron* hills, and next arrive at the *West Point* of Van Diemen's Island, a sandy projection in $41^{\circ} 4' \text{ S.}$, $144^{\circ} 43' \text{ E.}$ From thence the coast extends south by east and south-south-east for nearly twenty leagues, and consists of sandy beaches, separated by points which have many straggling rocks lying off them to the distance of two miles. The shoreland is low for two or three miles, and then rises gently to a ridge of barren looking hills, backed by a higher and better wooded chain, from which rise detached peaks. *Arthur River* disembogues in an estuary about ten miles from West Point, of which I believe nothing certain is known.

Passing *Sandy Cape* and *Mount Norfolk*, which eminence is placed by Flinders in $41^{\circ} 24' \text{ S. lat.}$, $144^{\circ} 58' \text{ E. long.}$, *Mounts Heemskerk* and *Zeechaan* become visible; they form part of a lofty, irregular, and wooded range. Heemskerk, the most elevated, is sixteen miles north of Cape Sorell, and may be seen at thirty or thirty-five miles distance. Zeechaan bears from it $\text{E. } 20 \text{ S.}$, distant four or five miles, and has a peaked summit.

Macquarie Harbour, in $42^{\circ} 11' 30'' \text{ S. lat.}$, $145^{\circ} 16' \text{ E. long.}$, the principal haven on the west coast, was discovered in 1816; it extends inland in a south-west direction for about thirty miles, to the embouche of the Gordon river, diverging at its head right and left into two extensive coves or creeks, termed *Birche's Inlet* and *Kelly's Basin*. The entrance, which is very narrow, is formed by a moderately high bluff named Cape Sorell, in $42^{\circ} 10' 45'' \text{ S. lat.}$, $145^{\circ} 16' 30'' \text{ E. long.}$, on the south shore, and on the north by a long sandy beach. Nearly midway, in the mouth of the harbour, there is a small island or reef of rocks. The southern entrance, which is the best, is over a bar that extends for three-quarters of a mile outside the narrow part of the entrance, and has only nine feet water, on which the tide flows with great rapidity.

Inside, the depth of water is three to twelve fathoms, but there are extensive sandy shoals for more than four miles, among which are narrow channels shallowing in some places from fifteen to seven feet at low water. Further inland, the water deepens to ten, twenty, and twenty-six fathoms, for several leagues, where the shores run parallel with each other for more than fifteen miles.

The *Gordon River*, which flows into the bay near Birche's inlet, though barred, has two to seven fathoms within the entrance, and is navigable for thirty miles, in most parts very deep, and never less than 100 yards wide. The banks though generally precipitous, are in some places clothed with timber and shrubs, and exhibit beautiful scenery. The land is mostly rich, but so densely wooded with gigantic trees, as to offer little encouragement to agriculture.

Kelly's Basin has, near its northern extremity, a small river. There are several coves in Macquarie harbour, besides those already named, which may prove valuable, as the recent discovery of fine tracts of country, to the extent, it is stated, of at least two million acres, in its vicinity, will probably lead to the speedy location of this part of the island. The bar, the only material drawback in this magnificent haven, would then possibly be removed by scoops worked by steam power, as has been done at Port Adelaide.

Swan Bay, in the northern part of Macquarie Harbour, receives King's river; it is said to be a basin of considerable extent, in which vessels may lie completely landlocked; but very little is known of it.

Pine Cove has good anchorage in three fathoms, muddy bottom; the country around affords abundance of timber serviceable for various purposes; a tree of the pine species grows ordinarily to the height of forty or fifty feet, twelve to sixteen inches in diameter, with leaves resembling parsley, and affords excellent ships' spars. Lieutenant P. P. King, R.N., on landing here in 1819, found lofty trees growing within three yards of the edge of the water, upon a soil of decomposed vegetable matter, which in many parts was so soft that his party occasionally sank up to their knees in it. This swampy character arises from the thickness of these primeval forests, whose density prevents the rays of the sun from reaching the soil. The intelligent officer above mentioned, noticed near Pine cove a singular

evidence of the fertility of the district, and its adaptation for the sustenance of vegetable life, although in such a high latitude, and contiguous to the great Southern Ocean. After speaking of the magnificent forests, he adds—"The ground is also strewn with fallen trees, the stems of which are covered with a thick coat of moss, in which seedlings of all the varieties of trees and plants that grow here were springing up, in the prostrate stem of perhaps their parent tree; and it was not rare to see large Huon pines of three feet in diameter, rooted in this manner on the trunk of a sound tree of even larger dimensions, that had, perhaps, been lying on the ground for centuries; while others were observed, in appearance sound, and in shape perfect, and also covered with moss, which, on being trod upon, fell in and crumbled away." A stream called *King's River*, apparently of some length, flows into Pine cove. I think it will be found to water a valuable agricultural region to the eastward. The mountains along the eastern side of Macquarie harbour are not nearly so bare as those at Port Davey, further southward, the rock projecting above the soil only on the loftiest peaks, and the scrub of the gullies running into deep wood on the lower slopes. The shore open to the sea on the south, near Cape Sorell, consists of numerous small bays—some sandy, some shingly, others rocky, or covered thickly with decomposed kelp of enormous size, which engenders multitudes of maggots, the food of numberless white cockatoos, ducks, and other sea-fowl.

There was formerly a penal settlement on *Sarah Island*, a small island situated in the south-east side of Macquarie harbour. *Philip's Island*, on the north side, had then some garden cultivation.

From Cape Sorell the coast trends to the south-south-east, waving in rocky bights and projections; the land ascends gently from the shore, and is apparently destitute of wood.

Point Hibbs stretches westward about three miles from the coast, and being higher than the neck by which it is joined to the main land, presents an excellent position for a light-house. To the southward of this point, the coast trends more irregularly, acquires somewhat greater elevation, and becomes less bare of trees. About twelve miles from Point Hibbs, a small harbour is formed by two remarkable projecting

headlands. More to the southward is *Rocky Point*, thence the coast turns abruptly to the eastward, and *Mount De Witt* becomes visible at a distance of thirty to thirty-five miles.

We now arrive at *Port Davey*, ninety miles to the south-east of Port Macquarie, in $43^{\circ}21'$ S. lat., 146° E. long., an extensive inlet, discovered so lately as the year 1816, by Mr. Kelly, the skilful pilot of the *Derwent*, during an adventurous cruise in a whale-boat. This arm of the sea divides into two branches, one of which runs to the northward, with a moderate depth of water (three to six fathoms), and receives *Davey River*, a stream said to flow with great impetuosity from the Western Mountains; the other turns to the eastward, and forms *Bathurst Harbour*.

Backhouse was detained seventeen days in the "middle harbour" of Port Davey (see map;) he describes it as a basin about a mile-and-a-half across, surrounded by hills with little wood, and sheltered from the open sea by a rocky islet and a conical rock, which leave an entrance "sufficiently deep for ships of moderate size." He adds, "we also went into the southern opening, called *Kelly's River*, which is an estuary five or six miles long, one broad, and from two to three fathoms deep. There were several black swans upon it. The wombat, a burrowing herbivorous animal, in figure somewhat like a small bear, abounds in this neighbourhood; its flesh, when young, resembles that of the hare. We likewise visited the Davey river, or Northern harbour, in which, under a point from the west, in the turn towards Cockburn cove, vessels sometimes take refuge from a southerly gale. Oysters are obtained at low tides in this cove, on the smooth waters of which, pelicans, red-bills, and gulls were swimming. On the north of it there is mica rock containing garnet." "Rock cod, and occasionally eels about five feet long and fourteen inches round, were caught there."

The *North Head* of the sea mouth of Port Davey is about 1,050 feet high, the shores on either side being of the most dreary and unpromising description, with a background of mountains which form a long tier, and stretch inland for several miles, attaining, it is said, an occasional elevation of 5,000 feet, and crowned with snow during the greater part of the year.

The following particulars respecting Port Davey, from the *New South Wales Monitor*,

though dated 1828, may be acceptable; for although this port and the coast to the South-west Cape is expressly stated to have been examined by Mr. Forsyth in 1842, in the *Vansittart*, during the surveying expedition entrusted to Captain Stokes, yet, strangely enough, no account of its capabilities or characteristics is given by the latter officer in his (on most points) comprehensive "Account of the coast and rivers" then explored.

"On entering Port Davey, the land on each side is of the most rugged and barren description, being steep and mountainous towards the east. As the traveller ascends, it gradually becomes narrower, till at last he finds himself, if in a boat, placed in a narrow but deep channel, in a chasm formed of perpendicular or overhanging rocky sides, reaching to so great a height as almost to exclude the light of day. The progress of the boat is at last stopped by its narrowness, not having room to ply the oars, and by a cataract of singular beauty. The water has evidently cut this channel for itself at some remote period; and having thus formed an outlet, has left the basin of the great lake which had formerly existed, a fertile plain above, of very large extent. The eargoes of Huon pine which have hitherto been brought from Port Davey, have usually consisted of logs and trees that have been washed down from this narrow chasm, and deposited on the sloping beach below."

The *South-West Cape* is a narrow piece of land projecting in two flattish hummocks from the main, and rising a thousand feet precipitously above the level of the sea; the peak in which it terminates is rendered more conspicuous by a deep gap behind. The white, weather-worn face of the cape is very striking, yet the adjacent coast is scarcely less wild, bare, and storm-beaten; high, denuded summits standing out occasionally from among the thick clouds that girdle them. Here and there, where vegetation struggles with sterility, its stunted growth and northern inclination testify to the bleakness and violence of the prevailing winds.

Cox Bight lies in the deep bay formed by the two projecting headlands termed *South* and *South-West Cape*. It was discovered in 1789 by Captain Cox, in the brig *Mercury*, and is situated north by west ten miles from the Mewstone. The country is said to be agreeably interspersed with hills and valleys, some of the hills being luxuriantly clothed with trees to the very summit. About four miles from where the *Mercury* anchored there was a stream of fresh water.

There is another inlet apparently extensive in the north-east part of this bay, close to *Peaked Hill*; it is reported to be a sandy bay, four miles deep, where it is probable there may be good anchorage, if two clumps

of rock which lie in the entrance will admit of a passage.*

De Witts or *Maatsuykers Islands*, so named by Tasman, are about twelve in number, of various sizes; the two largest are each three to four miles in circuit, with steep sides, but of a height inferior to that of the mainland, with which they have probably at one time been connected.

The *Needle Rock* to the westward, and the *Mewstone* to the southward of the above, are of the same character and formation. The Mewstone is nearly round, steep, and high.

The *Eddystone* and *Pedra Blanca* are two clifly islets about twenty miles south of the *South Cape*.

The *Sidmouth Rock* is six miles north-east by east from *Pedra Blanca*. The channel between these islets and the mainland is thirteen miles wide, and near the middle the soundings are sixty fathoms on broken coral and shells.

The headlands of *South Cape* and *Whale Head*, with the intermediate open roadstead termed *South Cape Bay*, complete this necessarily cursory and unsatisfactory delineation of the coast-line of Van Diemen's Island, many parts of which are still very imperfectly surveyed, their latitudinal and meridional positions incorrectly laid down, and the capabilities of the havens and rivers in a great degree unknown. A limited portion of the colonial revenues could not be better employed than in making a trigonometrical survey of the entire coast-line of this remarkable island.

MOUNTAINS.—The range which divides the eastern from the western waters in Van Diemen's Island, is evidently a prolongation of that whose progress we have traced in the previous volume, through New South Wales and Victoria, to Wilson promontory, where its visible continuity, though in some measure interrupted by the sea, is yet clearly indicated by the chain of isles and islets in the eastern entrance of Bass strait, ordinarily comprehended under the name of the *Furieux* islands; the *Hunter* islands in the western entrance would appear to be likewise the visible links of a submarine chain between Cape Otway and Cape Grim, but they are fewer in number, and the connection is far less evident. In the former instance, the course of the chain to Flinders island is distinctly marked by Rodondo, Moncur, Curtis islands, and the Kent group,

* *The Australian Directory*, printed by the Admiralty in 1830, p. 205.

while from thence to the southward, Barren island, Clark island, and Cape Portland are situated, with their respective heights, in such perspective that, shutting out the intervening sea, the eye may glide uninterruptedly from the heights of Flinders island, even to the far summits which crown the elevations of Van Diemen's Island. The chain, when it emerges from the ocean at Cape Portland, does not at once attain any remarkable altitude, its height for thirty miles not exceeding 700 feet. On arriving, however, at the point where it is commonly called Black-ridge, it suddenly rises to above 3,000 feet; and is seen casting to the right and left, in its south-west course, towards St. Patrick's head, three long spurs, which with their numerous ramifications, stamp the north-eastern section of the island with a most striking and characteristic configuration.

The first of these spurs branches off at the source of the river Boobiala, and terminates in a cluster of conspicuous granitic hills, of which the most prominent is *Mount Cameron*; next to it is that spur which is crowned with the greenstone elevations of *Mount Horror*, *Mount Barrow*, *Mount Arthur*, and *Mount Direction*, and which, stretching as far as George Town, terminates in *Mount Royal*. The third spur is characterised by the highest eminences in Van Diemen's island, namely, *Ben Lomond* and *Ben Nevis*, which are likewise composed of greenstone.

Count Strzelecki, who traced the great dividing range from Cape Portland to South Cape, and determined the position of the leading topographical features of the island, when describing the above-named spurs, says;—"it is impossible to give an adequate idea of the relievo which they have produced; of those endless sharp-edged ridges, which run in all directions, interbranch and form, as it were, a net-work of mountain-chains, woven intricately together. At times the eye can seize upon their distinct and independent courses radiating from a common centre, and gradually sloping into flat-bottomed valleys; at times their flanks are erect and perpendicular, imparting to the ridges an appearance of having been rent asunder, and presenting between, dark chasms and gorges, from which roaring torrents make their escape."

The grandeur and infinite diversity of this mountain scenery is depicted as peculiarly striking, when viewed from the

lofty, craggy, and precipitous battlements of Ben Lomond, whose northern extremity, overhanging profound and tortuous abysses, commands an uninterrupted view of Ben Nevis, Mount Barrow, Mount Arthur, Mount Cameron, the northern coast, and the most conspicuous peaks of the islands of Bass strait. From the southern side is seen the whole eastern labyrinth of ridges and chasms, the fertile valley of the Break-o'-Day river, together with the beautiful outline of the bays and promontories of the eastern coast.

The central part of the summit of the mountain is a scene of unbroken solitude, silence, and desolation. On the bare earth, covered only here and there with patches of snow in the midst of summer, thousands of prismatic greenstone columns, of gigantic size (eight or ten feet in diameter), lie prostrate, columns chiselled by nature, and raised by her hands to this majestic elevation, where, overthrown and broken into huge fragments, their ends project over chasms 3,000 feet in perpendicular depth. From this table-land, however, of the mountain's top, the fearful gorges, precipitous cliffs, and inaccessible ridges of its immediate vicinity disappear; while the distant masses of the western hills seem blended or levelled into one undulating valley, intersected by the windings of glittering streams connected with the valley of the Tamar, and bounded, on the remotest verge of the horizon, by a delicately marked ridge of mountains.

The main chain at St. Patrick's head, recedes from the sea, and follows a south-westerly direction for about sixty miles, without presenting any particular features, either in its main or its lateral branches. At the point called Lake Tomb, and in the vicinity of the eastern marshes, it suddenly turns between these two localities, reaches St. Peter's pass, and casts towards *Spring Hill*, a spur, which separates the latter from the Clyde, and of which *Table Mount* is the principal eminence.

The dividing range next proceeds to the northward, where it passes between Lake Sorell and Lake Arthur. On arriving at *Dry's Bluff*, a remarkable elevation, resembling in shape a commanding promontory, it throws back again a spur, which encircles Lake Arthur, and thus flanks the left side of the Lake river, opposite to Miller's bluff.

The view from Dry's bluff embraces all the windings of the Tamar, with Ben Lo-

mond, Ben Nevis, Mount Barrow, and Mount Arthur in the background; the sinuosities of the valley of the Meander, as far as the north coast; and the table land to the south, with the expanded waters of Great Lake, including vast verdant marshy plains, stripped of timber, plentifully intersected by rivers and rivulets, and here and there broken with ravines and elevations.

Between Dry's bluff and Western bluff, the chain, in its semicircular bend, sends one spur to the northward, which terminates in *Quamby's Bluff*, a remarkable detached round mountain, and several to the southward, which divide the lakes from the tributaries of the river Derwent. At Western bluff, it casts to the north-east a long spur, which separates the river Meander from the Mersey, rendering all the country which borders on Port Sorell and the river Tamar extremely broken and hilly. Throughout the whole distance from St. Peter's Pass to Western bluff the chain averages 3,500 feet in height, and exhibits a greenstone crest of an extremely irregular aspect. That crest is almost everywhere rugged, broken, and denuded of vegetation; its spurs steep, and tortuous in their course, angular and fantastic in their form; and its innumerable ravines, invariably deep and dry, are strewn with masses of rock of immense dimensions.

The dividing range to the southward of Western bluff assumes a still bolder character: its spurs in the vicinity of Lake St. Clair, to the north, north-west, and west, are topped for the most part by more lofty, bare, and cloven summits of quartz rock and sienite, and are divided by more gloomy gullies, the beds of which, furrowed by the torrents in yet deeper trenches, are at times impassable. The greenstone and basaltic spur which divides the Mersey from the Forth, that which separates the Forth from the Leven, that which spreads into the Hampshire hills, and stretches to Cape Grim, and, lastly, that which divides the river Arthur from the streams flowing into and towards Macquarie Harbour, all partake of the colossal, rugged, wild, and distorted features which here distinguish the chain.

Near the Hampshire hills is a ridge named the *Surrey Hills*, about 2,000 feet in height, from which rises *St. Valentine's Peak*, 4,000 feet above the sea, composed of siliceous conglomerate, the imbedded pebbles being of various appearance, from that of semi-opal to flint; others are opaque, and white, red, or scarlet.

Below Lake St. Clair, two remarkable spurs remain to be noticed; the one, which divides King from Gordon river, is crowned by *Frenchman's Cap*, a rugged towering point, so called from the resemblance of its snowy covering to that worn ordinarily by a French cook. The name, however, is ill chosen; for the scenery visible from its summit has nothing of the grotesque, but is described by Strzelecki as being of a "Pyrenean character, unequalled elsewhere in Van Diemen's Island." The other—also formed of greenstone and basalt, which separates the Derwent from the Huon, and terminates in Mount Wellington, constitutes a striking feature in the physical formation of the south part of the island. From both these spurs, elevated above all the adjacent mountains, the view is very extensive. Below the first, stretches the whole tract between Macquarie and Port Davey, a great part of the western coast, and the northern and eastern eminences of the Lake country. At the foot of the latter spur are seen, on one side, the conspicuous peaks of the elevated land about Lake Sorell, the Great Lake, Lake St. Clair, and Lake Echo, with all the numerous valleys which ultimately resolve themselves into that of the Derwent; on the other, the Coal-river valley, Tasman's Peninsula, and the borders of the Channel, with Hobart Town in the foreground, and the indented and projecting southern coast in the horizon.

The chain beyond these two spurs bends in a south-easterly direction, still sending forth minor branches, and studding with conical eminences the skirts of D'Entrecasteaux channel and Research bay, until it dips under the sea; thus terminating its terrestrial course at South Cape.

The following table, derived from Count Strzelecki's valuable work, shews the altitude, above the level of the sea, of the most remarkable mountains, lakes, water-courses, plains, and stations, in Van Diemen's Island, as determined by the barometer:—

Mountains.

Mount Humboldt, Western Range	5,520
Mount Ben Lomond, culminant point	5,092
Ditto North-west point	4,354
Ditto South Bluff	4,500
Cradle Mountain, north of Lake St. Clair	4,700
Dry's Bluff, Western Tier	4,590
Mount Wellington, Flagstaff	4,195
Mount Arrowsmith, between Frenchman's Cap and Lake St. Clair	4,075
Western Tier, opposite Mr. Groom's station	3,915
Ben Nevis	3,910
Frenchman's Cap	3,861

Black Range, Vale of Belvoir	3,381
Four Miles Rise, River Forth	2,957
Gad's Hill, River Mersey	2,588
Table Land, forming the base of Ben Nevis	2,327
Table Land, watered by the North Esk	2,220
Mount St. Patrick	2,277
Mount Stokes	2,039
Mount Herschell	1,200
Range between Mr. Whittle's farm and Watery Plains	1,506
Signal Hill (Mr. Kesmode's)	992
Asbestos Range	1,700
Mount Arthur	3,900
Badger's Head	1,300
Mount George, signal station	617
Sugar Loaf, near Mount George	642
Summit over Fourteen-miles Bluff	320
Government Cottage, George Town	23
Lantern of Lighthouse on Low Head	140
Mount Direction	1,233
Valentine Peak	4,000
Mount William	730
Mount Pearson	300

Lakes and Watercourses.

Great Lake	3,822
Arthur's Lake	3,388
Lake St. Clair	3,239
Source of the Nive	4,033
Source of the Leven	2,404
River Mersey (crossing place to V. D. L. Co.'s station)	1,012
River Forth (crossing place, Circular Pond Marshes)	796
Junction of the Tyne and South Esk	700
Junction of the North Esk, with a tributary from Ben Lomond	929
Junction of the two branches of River King	2,150

Towns and Stations.

Government hut at the Traveller's River	3,949
Sheep station of Mr. Wood at the Great Lake	3,822
Sheep station of Mr. James Clark, north of Marlborough	3,124
Bronte, Marlborough	2,912
Marlborough	2,858
Vale of Belvoir (V. D. L. Co.)	2,930
Middlesex Plains (V. D. L. Co.)	2,709
Government hut at foot of Frenchman's Cap	2,157
Chilton, a station of the V. D. L. Company	2,106
Regent's Plains (Mr. Wood's station)	1,892
Hampshire Hills (V. D. L. Company's station)	1,348
Oatlands	1,308
Circular Pond Marshes	1,140
Mr. Reid's farm	963
Caldstock	901
Captain Lloyd's farm, Westbury	860
Patcham (V. D. L. Company's farm)	839
Arundel, Western Tier	879
Coal Seam, Jerusalem	843
Formosa (an estate of Mr. Lawrence)	806
Mr. Legg's farm, Break-o'-Day	818
Mr. Groom's Sheep station, Western Tier	771
Adelphi (farm of Mr. Prinsep)	766
Lake Mills (farm of Mr. Fletcher)	725
Quamby's (the property of Mr. R. Dry)	691
Cressy (farm of V. D. L. Horse Company)	654
Blackman's Bridge	646
Jerusalem Settlement	634
Hummock Hill (Mr. T. Archer's station)	591
Carriek	560
Mr. Steiglitz's farm (Break-o'-Day)	577
Mona Vale (property of Mr. Kermode)	585

Campbell-town	567
Black Boy's Plain (Mr. Talbot's)	571
Eggles-town (Mr. Headlam's)	549
Malahide (Mr. Talbot's)	431
Hamilton, town	346
Mr. Steil's St. Patrick	243
Rose Garland (property of Mr. Barker)	161
Mr. Hull's house, Mount Wellington	169
Risdon-house	159
Dr. Pugh's house, Launceston	142
Richmond-town	67
Ringarooma (property of Rev. Dr. Browne)	11

From the same authority we learn that the mean height of the *divisa aquarum* is 3,750 feet above the level of the sea. The average fall of the eastern rivers is estimated at ninety-three feet in every mile; and the average fall of the country, at 120 feet.

RIVERS.—The insularity of Tasmania, and the peculiar conformation of its irregular surface, give rise to many rivers and streams, of which some of the most important have their sources in the interior lakes; others originate in springs: but in both cases, though their volume is subject to sudden increase from mountain tributaries, it does not depend on them for support, and is not liable to be dried up in the warm months. I am aware that a different impression prevails in England on this point; but it is an erroneous one: for, making due allowance for its high southern latitude, Tasmania possesses a more than ordinary share of permanent surface water, distributed, so far as we know, (for there are some districts yet unexplored), very fairly throughout its whole extent.

The principal stream, called the *Derwent*, flows from the southern extremity of Lake St. Clair, about eighty miles to the north-west of Hobart Town, but the windings of the river give it nearly twice this length. Its earliest tributary is a stream, originating in a branch of the Western Mountains, which it receives on its left bank, five miles below Lake St. Clair; a rivulet named the *Guelph* shortly after joins it on the opposite side; thence continuing for fifteen miles in a south-east direction, the Derwent is joined by the *Nive*, which here terminates a course from the northward of about thirty-five miles, receiving only one small creek, the *Nivelle*, but fertilizing a considerable extent of fine country. After the junction of the Nive, the main channel receives from the southward a stream called *Florentine River*, whose source is supposed to be in the lakes at the foot of the Frankland range, in which the river Huon originates. Returning to

the Derwent, we find it pursuing its winding way through a chain of hills, from whence several mountain torrents (of which *Broad River* is the chief), descend to swell its stream; the *Dee* next joins it from the north, after a downward course from Lake Echo of about five-and-twenty miles, and shortly after, the impetuous waters of the *Ouse* and its tributaries form the most important accession which it receives throughout its course.

The *Ouse* has its rise near a remarkable eminence called Platform Bluff (see map of Van Diemen's Island), to the west of Great Lake, from the southern extremity of which its chief branch, the *Shannon*, takes its course, and after receiving two small streams, the larger of which, named *Blackman*, flows from the *Lagoon of Islands*, it joins the *Ouse*, near *Ebrington* township; from thence the united streams pursue a southerly direction, and after receiving the *Kenmere*, or *Native Hut Creek*, merge into the Derwent.

The rise of the Tasmanian rivers is generally rapid, owing to the mountainous character of the country; but the *Ouse* is especially subject to sudden floods, having been known to increase its depth above twelve feet in the space of two hours: this, of course, materially affects the Derwent, which, for a river connected with the sea, is remarkably uncertain in its rise and fall, and irregular in its volume.

Jones River next enters the Derwent from the foot of the ridge near Lake Barker; a little lower, on the opposite and northern bank, the *Clyde*, a far more important tributary, terminates a course which, including its sinuosities, may extend to some forty or fifty miles. Issuing from Crescent Lake, it for a short distance preserves a canal-like appearance, then rushes furiously over a rocky bottom: at one time it meanders peacefully amid rich and fertile land; at another, forces its way through steep gorges, or plunges headlong over precipitous cliffs.

Russell Falls, about ten miles below *Jones River*, the *Styx*, (whose present classic appellation, though in sound the same, is widely different in sense from that applied by its early visitors, when, seeing its channel nearly blocked up by fallen timber, they called it the *river of sticks*), and the *Plenty*, are small streams flowing into the Derwent from the mountain ridge which borders its right or southern bank, from whence the

Lachlan, *Sorell Rivulet*, *Humphreys*, &c., likewise descend.

On the opposite shore, the only branch of the main channel, of any importance, still unnoticed, is *Jordan River*, a clear, shallow stream, in dry weather little more than a chain of ponds, which, after watering a tract of exceedingly beautiful country, disembogues in an inlet called *Herdsmen's Cove*, situated near the head of the Derwent estuary, having been previously joined by *Strathallen Creek*.

I have elsewhere stated, that the fine river which we have now traced to its embouchure, is navigable for large ships to Sullivan's Cove, Hobart Town; by smaller vessels, to about a mile-and-a-half above Elizabeth Town, or New Norfolk, where the channel is effectively barred by a ridge of rocks, chiefly under water, over which the river flows swiftly in a broken current (forming what is locally called the *Falls*); immediately above them the stream presents a deep and long reach, until again impeded by a similar obstruction. Locks and cuttings may probably hereafter render the Derwent practicable for a considerable distance inland. The Upper Falls, in the earlier course of the river, (before the accession of the *Dee*), are much more striking, the water precipitating itself in an unbroken volume over a ledge of rocks of considerable height, and forming, during the rainy seasons, a really magnificent cascade.

The waters of the Derwent are fresh for some distance below Elizabeth Town, although slightly influenced by the tide.

The *Tamar*, is the name applied to a part only of the main artery, whose ramifications spread over the north-eastern portion of the island, as the Derwent and its branches over the central and south-western, but the *Valley of the Tamar*, properly so called, may be considered as commencing at the head of Macquarie river, from whence to George Town, it has, according to Strzelecki, "a length of 100 miles, an average breadth of thirty, and a superficial extent of 3,000 square miles. It has forty miles of inland navigation for vessels of 600 tons, and the best macadamised roads cross it in every direction. Its sides are prominently indented with bold erect ranges of greenstone, which, under the progress of disintegration, are yielding to its soil the most valuable elements of production." In addition to these advantages, the same authority notices especially the advantages of its position

with regard to *Lake Arthur*, which lies above it at an elevation of 3,700 feet, forming a natural reservoir for irrigation.

The section, however, of this valley, especially distinguished as the Tamar, commences, or rather, is formed by the confluence of the *North and South Esk*, at Launceston, and after winding through a channel, usually narrow, but of varying width, between shores sometimes high and densely timbered, at others low, and offering to view an extent of forty miles of open country, abounding in rich pasturage, and receiving on its way the waters of the *Supply River* and some smaller creeks; it disembogues at Port Dalrymple in Bass Strait, after a course, including its sinuosities, of forty-five miles.

At twenty miles from the sea, the breadth of the Tamar is about a mile, but towards the entrance it varies from one to five miles, forming several inlets peculiarly adapted for docks and ship-building; for the latter there is great inducement in the abundance and excellence of the materials readily obtainable in its vicinity. Though its *Valley* is superior in an agricultural point of view, as affording a larger proportion of readily available land, as an *estuary* the Tamar will not bear comparison with the Derwent; its navigation, which has been before alluded to in describing the Coast Line (p. 27), being intricate and dangerous.*

The *North Esk* originates in several springs which flow from the mountain range to the northward of Ben Lomond, and is likewise fed by some tributaries from the foot of that eminence. During a course of about thirty-five miles it receives only one small stream, called *St. Patrick's*, and a few creeks, but it passes through an exceedingly rich country, and its banks are, to a considerable extent, lined by thriving farms.

At Corra Lin, about seven miles from Launceston, the *North Esk* forms a pretty waterfall, which prevents the further progress of boats and barges.

The *South Esk* rises near the northern boundary of Cornwall County, and forms a junction with *Break-o'-Day River*, near Fingal township; then flowing to the southwest, receives several rivulets; *St. Paul's*

River, joining it near Avoca, and *Buffalo Brook* on the opposite bank; soon after, taking a north-west direction, the *South Esk* divides the counties of Cornwall and Somerset, receiving on its way *Ben Lomond River* and *Nile River*, and subsequently unites itself near the township of Perth to *Macquarie river*, which is in fact its main stem.

Macquarie River, remarkable for the fertile tract of country which it waters, rather than for its own extremely uncertain stream; has its origin near the source of the *Clyde* and *Jordan* (tributaries, it will be remembered, of the Derwent), thence taking a north-west course across the county of Somerset, and receiving *Blackman River*, *Elizabeth River*, the *Isis* and other periodical streamlets, it forms a junction with *Lake River* (which has obtained its name from the numerous reaches or lakes formed during its meandering course), at a point a few miles below Perth, and then flows onward to its union with the *South Esk*.

The waters of the *Quamby*, *Meander*, or *Western River*, with its tributary creeks, soon after enter the left bank of the *South Esk*, which about half-a-mile before its termination in the Tamar, forms, when in full volume, an imposing cataract; to this point the salt-tide flows up; the ebb and flow are regular, the rise being about fourteen feet at Launceston.

The river next in importance to the Derwent and Tamar is the *Huon*, whose embouchure was described among the havens of D'Entrecasteaux channel. At twelve miles from its sea mouth the *Huon* receives on its right or west bank, a small stream called the *Kermantee*, and twelve miles further inland the *Mount River*, which flows from the Wellington range: the tide runs up as high as this junction, but the navigation is impeded by the Egg islets, which are covered with trees, brush-wood and long grass, affording shelter for numerous swans to build their nests.

Above the Egg islands the channel is still narrow, but the water deepens to ten fathoms, and remains so to Mount river, whence there is a good road to Hobart Town, to detect the channels, and raises so much sea that the pilots cannot reach the vessels that arrive off the mouth." (Vol. i., p. 279.) Elsewhere he states that "on the whole of the northern coast, with the exception of the Hunter Islands, there is no place of safety for a ship in all winds, that a stranger would like to run into, the mouth of the Tamar being too much occupied with shoals." (Vol. ii., p. 503.)

* "The first appearance of the Tamar," says Captain Stokes, "is not very inviting to the seaman. A rapid stream, thrown out of its course, hemmed in by numerous reefs, and passing over a bottom so uneven as to cause a change in the soundings from twelve to twenty-six, and then eighteen fathoms, with a ripple or line of broken water across the mouth, renders it impossible in strong north-west winds, for a stranger

distant fourteen miles. The Huon now takes a sudden turn to the west—the angle of the bend is termed *Mosquito Point*; the northern or left bank continues lofty and precipitous; the opposite side is composed of low land often flooded. About a mile above Mosquito point, the river is nearly 100 yards wide, and the first fall is met with; the stream then forms a succession of rapids to its sources. *Lakes Maria* and *Edyur*, situated near the eastern extremity of the Frankland range. *Picton River*, said to flow from a lagoon to the east of Bathurst harbour, joins the Huon about midway; but with this stream, as indeed, with the far more important one, to which it is a contributory, we are very imperfectly acquainted. Dense woods, consisting chiefly of the fine trees distinguished as Huon pine, from having first been found on the Huon river, render its shores in parts almost inaccessible, but in others there are said to be available tracts of extraordinary fertility.

Some miles to the north-westward of the sources of the Huon, a considerable but only partially examined river, named the *Gordon*, takes its rise; at the upper part of whose course, lime, which is rare in Tasmania, and, consequently, very valuable, is found. The Gordon is navigable for about thirty miles from its embouche in Macquarie Harbour (see p. 32). It receives *Spencer's Rivulet* and other streamlets, which are, I believe, unnamed. Another stream called *King's River*, said to be little inferior in length to the Gordon, empties itself into Swan bay, the northern inlet of Macquarie Harbour.

Numerous streams with short courses, flow into or towards Bass strait. At the distances of eight, eighteen, twenty-nine, forty-eight, and fifty-three miles eastward from Port Dalrymple, the *Currie*, *Piper*, *Trent* or *Great Forestier*, *Tomahawk*, and *Ringarooma*, (*Little* and *Great Boobyula*), disembogue into Bass Strait.* Westward of Port Dalrymple, at the distances of

eleven, eighteen, twenty, twenty-three, and twenty-seven miles, and all flowing from the southward, are the *Sorell* or *Rubicon*, the *Mersey* and its tributaries, the *Don*, *Frith*, and *Leven*, of which the Mersey and Rubicon are the principal. Westward of the Leven there are also several streams, viz.—the *Blythe*, *Emu*, *Cory*, *Cam*, *Inglis*, *Flowerdale*, *Detention* or *Tret*, *Hook*, *Greg Fish*, *Copper Ore*, *Black*, *Duck*, *Montague*, *Welcome*, &c. Count Strzelecki, who traversed the north-western extreme of Van Diemen's Island, between Circular Head and Point Woolnorth, describes it as presenting "eight rivers as difficult to cross as the Scamander, with deep gullies and rocky ridges, and marshes more difficult to overcome than either ridges or rivers." A similar feature marks the western portion of the island. One, named the *Arthur*, which disembogues ten miles to the southward of West Point, appears to have a course from the eastward of more than sixty miles, and to have several tributaries, termed the *Frankland*, *Horton*, *Leigh*, and *Balfour*. The *Hellyer*, *Mackintosh*, *Coldstream*, *Forth*, *Huskisson*, *Medway*, and other streams, are traced to some extent in the north-western portion of Frankland's large Map of Van Diemen's Island; but their sources or termination are not clearly defined.

The south shores are less indented with rivers than any of the others, excepting the more important streams previously named, there are none worth particularizing; on the east coast they are more numerous, but not of magnitude to require specific notice. Among them are included *Coal River*, the *Blackman*, in Tasman's peninsula, *Prosser*, *Little Swan Port*, *Wye*, *Cygnat*, *Break-o'-Day*, *Scamander*, *Georges*, *Ansons*, and *Great Muscle Roe*. The chief of these, named the *Coal River*, has its source near Three Hills, in Jerusalem plains, takes a southerly direction through a fertile country known as the Sweet Water Hills, receives the *Kangaroo River*, and empties itself into *Pitt Water*, an extensive salt

* Mr. Henry Widdowson, who was shipwrecked in the neighbourhood of the Ringarooma river, says it has a bar at its entrance, over which he thinks small vessels could easily pass during a flood tide; the mouth of the river is 100 yards wide, and gradually opens, says Mr. Widdowson, "into one of the most beautiful basins I ever saw. This fine sheet of water appeared the rendezvous of hundreds of black swans, wild ducks, and pelicans; the surrounding banks were covered with cherrytree and other small shrubs; altogether it had much the appearance of a niece of

water formed to adorn the park of some nobleman in England." The explorer proceeded one day's journey up the river; for thirty miles the land appeared to be good, but as it was the winter season, and evidently below the level of the river, he feared it would be inundated; advancing further towards the mountains, the river became regularly narrower, but Mr. Widdowson, being unarmed and afraid of meeting with the natives, did not continue his explorations. The description he gives of the Ringarooma will answer for several other rivers on this coast.

lake which communicates with North bay.

LAKES.—In a region of very varied altitude, receiving annually a large supply of rain, there are necessarily many inland sheets of water; but the greater number have as yet been imperfectly explored, either as to their exact position, extent, or depth. Little, therefore, can be done beyond indicating the leading characteristics of those best known.

Great, or Clarence Lake, ninety miles north-west of Hobart Town, is about fifteen miles long, by five broad, but the deep and continuous indentations of its shores give it a circumference very disproportionate to its limits, and conjectured to be little less than 150 miles; its depth, which is extremely variable, is differently estimated, but in no case with any pretension to accuracy; its height, above the level of the sea, is 3,882 feet. There are five islets in the lake, covered with a species of cedar, and numerous shrubs: the country in the vicinity is not thickly wooded, but composed of alternate marsh and hills, offering many tracts available for sheep and cattle runs, while in the distance the landscape abounds in the picturesque adjuncts of mountain and forest. A local historian, Mr. David Burn, speaks of its "woody islands and glittering bays" with rapturous admiration. "England," he says, "may vaunt her Windermere; Scotland chaunt the beauties of Loch Lomond; Ireland proclaim the graces of Killarney; but not with truer or prouder tongue than Antipodean Tasmania may boast the mountain glories and glowing waters of her own sweet lakes, than which none is fairer or sweeter than the majestic Clarence." The lee-shore of the lake is protected by a singular natural breakwater from the fury of the winter winds, and the causeway is nearly as regular as if constructed by masonic art.

The *Shannon* emerges a full-grown river from the broad expanse of *Great Lake*, whose waters nevertheless, in some parts, overflow their borders, even during the warm months: after rain, they of course rise considerably; and during tempestuous weather, occasionally wear a turbulent aspect, quite at variance with their ordinary tranquil beauty.

Lakes St. Clair and Sorell, in which the rivers Derwent and Clyde respectively originate, are next in size to Great Lake. Lake Sorell has high land close to its shores,

with here and there fine pebbly beaches, and it is divided by a narrow strip of land from *Lake Crescent*, a smaller sheet of water, to the south-east of which the remarkable eminence called *Table Mount* rises in the distance. Near Lake Sorell lie *Lake Arthur*, *Lake Woods*, and *Boundary Lake*, the sources of Lake river; and the Lagoon of Islands, a picturesque piece of swamp-water, in which numerous clumps of lofty bulrushes spring up from mounds of bog and long grass, variously grouped.

Lake Echo, whence issues the river Dee, lies immediately to the south of Great Lake, to whose irregular outline, its gently waving shores form a striking contrast; while its fairy islets, flowery banks, and clear blue waters, render Lake Echo perhaps even more attractive than its majestic rival.

The above lakes are all situated in the plateau formed by mountain ridges in the interior of the island; they are said to abound in water-fowl, and some of them in fish, but on this point I cannot speak with certainty; indeed I may here state that I have found more difficulty in obtaining accurate topographical information concerning Tasmania generally than any other of the Australian colonies.

Lake Tiberias is situated in Monmouth county; in the centre of that of Buckingham are several lakes, of which the largest is *Lake Barker*, at its western extremity are *Lake Pedder*, (three miles and-a-half long by two and-a-half broad), and *Lakes Maria and Edgar*, the sources of the Huon. According to Frankland's map, dated 1839, there is a communication between Lakes Pedder and Maria, not marked in the later ones.

Lemon's or Jordan Lake, twenty-five miles north of Hobart Town is encompassed by high hills. It is of a circular form, about ten miles in circumference, and except in wet weather very shallow.

DIVISIONS.—Tasmania was originally divided into two counties, Buckingham and Cornwall; the former occupying the northern, the latter the southern half of the island; and these counties were subdivided into police districts. This partition remained in force until June, 1836, when a redivision of the island, or rather of the eastern and central portions, was duly proclaimed, and the boundaries of eleven counties established. Of these, the *northern* were named Devon, Dorset, and Cornwall; the *central*, Westmoreland, Somerset, Gla-

morgan, and Cumberland; and the *southern*, Kent, Buckingham, Pembroke, and Monmouth. The limits of forty-nine townships and 155 parishes, comprised within the above-named counties, were fixed at the same time; but it is not necessary to enumerate them, as the greater number have as yet little more than a nominal existence. The counties themselves are rarely alluded to, either in the local enactments or statistical returns; the police districts, into which the settled tracts are apportioned, being alone mentioned.

In subsequent tables, the area, amount and description of cultivation, population, and stock, in each district, will be shewn. To avoid repetition, I shall therefore only notice, in this place, the leading topographical features of the country.

Hobart Town and the surrounding country.—The capital of Tasmania is situated in $42^{\circ} 55' 13''$ S. lat., $147^{\circ} 21'$ E. long. It occupies a commanding and extremely picturesque position, on the right bank of the Derwent, about twenty miles from the sea, at the head of the sheltered bight named Sullivan's Cove. The town is remarkably clean, well laid out, and neatly built; it covers from a mile to a mile and-a-half square of gently rising ground, backed by an amphitheatre of lofty and well-wooded hills, having Mount Wellington as the highest, which shelters it from westerly winds, and bound the horizon on that quarter; while the magnificent estuary of the Derwent—here more properly an arm of the sea, from its width and the saltiness of its waters—with its shipping of various descriptions, and its picturesque points of land forming numerous bays and lakes, skirts it on the east. The streets cross each other at right angles; they are airy, well lit, and tolerably wide; those that have been levelled and macadamized, of which there are several, present rows of good houses and handsome shops; the former being most numerous in Macquarie-street, which contains many of the public buildings and the dwellings of persons in official employments; the latter, in Elizabeth-street.

Macquarie-street, and the road continuing from it for a distance of about two miles, runs in a line nearly east and west, over two or three small hills, from the quay to the Female Penitentiary, until it is lost in a thick woody ravine at the foot of Mount Wellington. Elizabeth-street runs north and south, extending from the Go-

vernment-house towards New Town, on the Launceston road, in a continuous line of about a mile.

The houses and stores constructed of late years are chiefly of brick or a dark-coloured freestone, abundant in the neighbourhood, and roofed with shingles, which have the appearance of slates; but the older erections are principally of wood. It is, however, only in the leading thoroughfares, where the ground is most valuable,* that the houses offer anything approaching uniformity in their appearance: they usually stand apart, each having a small plot of ground, varying from a quarter to half an acre in extent, attached to it; a circumstance which, together with the undulating nature of the surface, adds materially to the beauty of the town, compensating in some degree for the deficiency of trees, either for ornament or shade, occasioned by the exterminating "clearings" of the early settlers.

A rivulet named *Hobart Town Creek*, originating near the foot of Mount Wellington, runs through the town, and disembogues in the Derwent, affording, during certain periods of the year, a good supply of water, and working several flour and saw mills.

The water is distributed by means of metal pipes, laid down by the government, by the aid of convict labour. Some quarters of the town are said to be but indifferently watered; but this is by no means a general complaint, and the shipping especially has been well cared for.

The public buildings are numerous, and some of them are handsome and commodious, more especially those devoted to the celebration of divine worship,—St. David's cathedral, Macquarie-street; St. George's church, at Battery Point; Trinity church, in Campbell-street; a chapel in Goulbournestreet, and St. Patrick's cathedral, in Patrick-street, for which subscriptions were raised in England, and a peal of bells purchased; all belong to the Church of England. There are besides, the Presbyterian kirks, various chapels and meeting-houses belonging to different denominations, and a Roman Catholic chapel: there is also a Jewish synagogue.

The Government-house is a large irregular pile, originally planned upon an inconsiderable scale, and added to as necessity required; it stands in the midst of tastefully

* There are spots of land in Hobart Town worth £2,000 per acre, which not many years since sold for as many shillings.

laid out shrubberies, and commands some delightful views of the port and river. A new house was commenced by Sir John Franklin in the government demesne, but it has not, I believe, been advanced beyond the foundation. The Court-house is a commodious building of hewn stone.

The Female House of Correction, or the Factory, as it is commonly called, is an extensive building, whose admirable construction affords facilities for the classification and employment of the prisoners; the gaol, on the contrary, is remarkable for its inaptitude for the purposes for which it was designed, being insecure, and too often crowded; so much so, that formerly debtors and editors of newspapers confined for libel or political misdemeanours, have been the compulsory associates of capitally convicted felons.

The Military and Prisoners' Barracks, standing in separate quarters of the town, are large and substantial edifices of brick, the former building, especially, occupies an excellent position, and is both healthy and convenient.

The Custom-house is of pure white free-stone, it stands near the commodious and well supplied market-place, in the north-west angle of Sullivan's Cove. The Commissariat Stores, Police-office, Colonial Hospital and other buildings, it is not necessary to particularize; they are of the substantial character common to the chief towns of the Austral-Asian colonies. Towards the end of 1840, a Magnetical Observatory was established in the government demesne, Hobart Town, by Sir James Ross, and fitted up by him with the best instruments for magnetic, astronomical, and meteorological observations; it is one of a series of forty, extending from Hammerfest, in Norway, in 70° N. lat., to the above-mentioned spot, which is in $42^{\circ} 55' 13''$ S. lat.; 9 hours, 49 minutes, 35 seconds E. of Greenwich, which is in $51^{\circ} 28' 32''$ north lat. Great Britain now numbers twelve observatories, namely, those of Greenwich, Cambridge, Dublin, Kelso (the private one of Sir Thomas Brisbane), Simla, Madras, Singapore, Bombay, Toronto, St. Helena, Cape of Good Hope, and that before-named, in Tasmania. All the observations at each station are made at a corresponding moment of Gottingen mean-time; the university of Gottingen having originated the enquiry, and being the common centre. One of the main objects for which these establishments

have been created, is to settle the question whether the constant perturbations to which the magnetic needle is subject, are local, or of an universal character throughout the globe.

The distinguishing advantage of Hobart Town is its fine harbour, in which ships of any burthen may not only safely ride at anchor, but may lay close alongside the shore in any state of the tide, which here seldom rises above four, or at most, five feet, and discharge or receive their cargoes: this great convenience has been obtained by the exertion of no small amount of enterprise and perseverance.

When Colonel Collins first debarked in February, 1804, a small patch of ground called Hunter island, lay at the mouth of the Hobart Town creek, contiguous to the anchorage. The water on this shore shoaled rapidly, rendering the operation of un-lading both tedious and hazardous; it was therefore deemed expedient to connect the islet with the mainland, by a causeway upon which a series of substantial and commodious warehouses were constructed: a wharf was likewise formed, and although ships could not discharge alongside, still vessels of 100 tons were enabled to do so, and the water was materially deepened. Notwithstanding this, an evil still existed, inasmuch as the cargoes of traders had to be transferred either to their own launches, or to shore boats, in which they were frequently damaged by the surf consequent upon the strong sea-breeze: to remedy this inconvenience, the construction of another wharf was resolved upon. The western shore of Sullivan's cove, terminating in the rocky point on which stands the little fort, dignified by the name of Mulgrave Battery, with its telegraph and signal post, offered considerable facilities, the banks being by no means of difficult removal, and presenting an ample supply of road and building material; whilst the water was not only smooth, but of considerable depth. The work once commenced proceeded vigorously; the waters of the upper and northern part of the inlet which were shallow and valueless, were filled with the excavations, and a magnificent esplanade connecting the old and new wharf, and consequently the whole harbour, was forthwith constructed.* The carriage way from Battery Point, west, to Murdock's Point, east, may probably be an

* *Colonial Magazine*, Van Diemen's Land, by David Burn, Esq. (Vol. ii., p. 283.)

English mile; on it are numerous warehouses of hewn stone, each erected at a cost of many thousand pounds.

Along the water-side are ship and boat-building yards, whence, from time to time many brigs and schooners for the colonial trade are launched into the land-locked waters of the Derwent.* The Tasmanians in general are thoroughly British in their tastes and habits, and evince this similarity in nothing more strongly than in their genuine enjoyment of aquatic amusements. The first settlement of the island in 1804, is annually commemorated by a regatta, held at Hobart Town in December, usually the finest month in the year.

The principal buildings erected by private capital in Hobart Town are the banks (which I shall elsewhere have occasion to notice, as also the schools, charitable and stipendiary), several excellent hotels and other houses of entertainment, among which may be included a more than proportionate number of "grog shops," but these have diminished since the establishment of abstinence and temperance societies.

Among the manufactories may be noticed breweries, tanneries, foundries, timber-mills, flour-mills, worked by the different elements of wind, water, and steam, a pottery, and a sugar-bakery. There are besides several coach-makers and every description of cabinet and furniture makers; ship-building has also now become a large and lucrative occupation. Hobart Town may be said to be well and reasonably supplied, not with necessities only, but even with luxuries. The only commodity of which a scarcity is felt, is fish, and that I believe is in consequence rather from the class who might procure it being engaged in more easy and equally remunerative pursuits, than in the deficiency of the article itself.

Mount Wellington, a chief object of attraction to the traveller visiting this the most southern city of the British empire, rises 4,000 feet above the level of the sea; the base of the mountain commences about four miles from the harbour, from which the summit is distant nine miles. A road extends from Macquarie Strait to a considerable fall of water called the "Springs," half-way up the mountain; beyond this point there are huge rugged rocks abounding in marine fossils, and separated by ravines and gullies, and the somewhat oval-

shaped sloping summit buttressed by fluted columnar basaltic masses, several hundred feet high (see map), seems like the landing-place of a long chain of progressive steps or elevations. Mount Wellington does not present the frowning grandeur and barren aspect of Table Mountain at the Cape of Good Hope, for although capped with snow during eight months of the year, the lower slopes towards Hobart Town are thickly studded with fern trees, wattles, and eucalypti, with an undergrowth of the castor oil plant, and many flowering shrubs, some of which possess considerable beauty.

The excellent roads of Hobart Town were repaired by the convicts at the expense of the government until 1846, when it was divided into five wards; commissioners were elected by the inhabitants, and the town assessed, the government on its part relinquishing some wharf dues and other taxes.

The land in the vicinity of Hobart Town is hilly and densely wooded, and the soil is stated to be generally thin and poor, yet some of the most unpromising tracts have been brought into successful cultivation, and the commodious and often handsome villas of the merchants and traders who carry on their respective occupations in the Tasmanian metropolis, stand amid gardens in which all kinds of English fruits thrive luxuriantly; while on the woody hills around patches of fresher green, with here and there a whitewashed cottage, enliven the dense masses of forest, composed chiefly of gum-trees (eucalyptæ), whose olive-brown foliage, gnarled trunks, and shedding bark of a changing ash-grey colour, form an almost invariable feature in every Tasmanian landscape.

On either bank of the Derwent, both above and below the town, are pleasant dwellings and agricultural farms, and immediately facing it on the opposite shore, is a low wooded tongue of land named *Kangaroo Point*, with a deep bay on either side, upon which a small village is situated, between which and the capital constant steam-communication is kept up from the circumstance of Kangaroo Point being the principal route to Sorell and Richmond.

Sandy Bay, a suburban dependence of Hobart Town, is delightfully situated at the head of the bight (about two miles in extent) whose name it bears; it is sheltered on the east and south by Mount Nelson, which runs abruptly into the river, closing all further view of the coast on that side.

* *Twelve Years in the British Colonies*, by J. C. Byrne.

On this eminence (1,000 feet high) is a signal-post, communicating with Mulgrave battery, and announcing the first intelligence concerning the arrival of vessels.

The productive farms and gardens of Sandy Bay, its race-course, and the broad lake-like expanse into which the river here opens, have rendered it a favourite resort. A thriving village named,—

New Town, on the opposite or northern side of Hobart Town, from which it is about two miles and-a-half distant, stands upon the banks of a small rivulet flowing into one of the numerous bays formed by the Derwent. The natural advantages of this spot, both with regard to scenery and soil, early attracted attention, and grants of the land in its immediate neighbourhood were obtained by the first settlers. The houses generally, are built in a superior manner, extensive quarries of fine-grained freestone being immediately available, and to several of them tastefully laid-out shrubberies are attached, the extensive gardens and orchards are highly cultivated, and the commodious farm-houses, with their neatly enclosed fields and paddocks, can hardly fail to strike an English eye as peculiarly home-like.

This locality appears extremely favourable to the growth of the vine, and so long ago as 1830, Prinsep, in his "Journal of a Voyage from Calcutta to Van Diemen's Land," stated, that from the garden of the house in which he resided, 300 gallons of very tolerable wine were made in one year. The chief building is the Orphan School; a large and handsome structure appropriated to the reception of children of both sexes; the boys, in addition to the ordinary branches of school education, being instructed in tailoring, shoe-making, and other useful handicrafts. *New Town* boasts a pottery, tannery, and one or two breweries; it has also its race-course.

LAUNCESTON, is situated in the *County of Cornwall*, and the *Police District of Launceston* (formerly called *Port Dalrymple*), in 41° 24' S. lat., 147° 10' E. long. It stands within the fork formed by the North and South Esks when about to merge in the Tamar, upon a fertile plain backed by rising hills of open woodland, and although con-

sidered very healthy, is subject during the winter to dense fogs.

Its admirable trading position was disregarded for some years after its settlement, owing chiefly to the intricate navigation of the Tamar,* but its advantages at length prevailed, and it began to manifest unmistakable evidences of commercial importance; at the present time the business-like appearance of the town, its shipping, quays, wharfs, stores, and buildings, both public and private, attest the value attached to it by its enterprising inhabitants as the key of a fertile and extensive country. Its coasting and intercolonial trade received an additional stimulus from the establishment of the colonies of South Australia and Port Phillip on the opposite shores, a forcible indication of the impolicy as well as positive unfairness of endeavouring to promote the welfare of one settlement by preventing the formation, or what is far worse, hindering the progress of others, when under a right system the individual increase and prosperity of each ought naturally to conduce to the welfare of the whole.

The streets (of which Charles-street, Wellington-street, and John-street, are the chief) are wide, airy, and laid out like those of most other Tasmanian towns and villages, at right angles; excellent houses, well-built and well-appointed throughout, extensive warehouses, and handsome shops are numerous, but the public buildings, though good and substantial, already seem disproportionate to the increasing magnitude of the northern capital.

Launceston is chiefly constructed of brick, and consequently lacks the imposing effect produced by the numerous stone edifices of Hobart Town, with which it is in many respects a worthy competitor, having its places of worship—episcopalian, presbyterian, Wesleyan, and meeting-houses of various denominations; its court-house, soldiers' and prisoners' barracks, female factory, &c., its schools both public and private, several banks, various charitable societies (to be mentioned elsewhere), printing establishments, and to crown the whole a well-conducted exchange or reading-room, supplied with an excellent selection of papers from

* Z. P. Pocock, in a pamphlet on emigration, published in 1847, says—"The Tamar is navigable to Launceston, only for vessels of 300 tons, those of larger size being prevented from approaching the wharf by a bar, are obliged to discharge in lighters. The rise of tide is about fifteen feet." Mr. Russell,

who visited Van Diemen's Island in 1839, speaks of vessels of 500 tons burthen being brought into Launceston harbour without difficulty. See Chambers' valuable miscellany, entitled *Information for the People*, vol. i., p. 307.

the mother country and the other colonies. In connexion with the post-office, custom-house, and commercial establishments, a telegraph has been erected on an eminence, called the Windmill-hill, which by means of a code of signals devised for each mercantile house, apprizes the merchants when a vessel enters or clears the heads of George Town.

The hotels and inns are of a superior kind, and the stores well deserve that name, from the quantity and variety of the articles they comprise, which are disposed of at very reasonable rates.

The annual races take place on a flat piece of ground on the banks of the North Esk; the number, breed, and condition of the horses combine to astonish the visitor, and indeed, throughout the island, horses and cattle of all descriptions thrive remarkably well.

Launceston is under the immediate control of a civil commandant, who resides in what is called the government-house, a building of no pretensions, but situated in the midst of an excellent garden.

The country in the vicinity of the northern, is very superior in soil to that which surrounds the southern capital, and the scenery likewise differs. The predominating features are, on one side huge mountain masses separated by narrow valleys, or gullies as they are here called, rising precipitously from the water's edge; on the other, the mountains, though not less lofty, are more remote, the intermediate space being moulded in undulating and richly-productive ground, thickly scattered over with gentlemen's seats, and cleared of all timber, except a few left for ornament.

To the east of Launceston is the open grassy tract called *Paterson's Plains*, on the South Esk, whose junction with a small stream called St. Paul's; is marked by the village of *Avoca*. *Fingal Township* is situated nearer the source of the South Esk, a short distance below its confluence with the Break-o'-Day; the agricultural farms on both banks of the Esk and its above-named tributaries, possess great advantages in point of soil, which have been largely availed of; improvements of all kinds in buildings, fencing, and working the land, especially in drainage and irrigation, have been energetically carried out, until many of them bear a striking resemblance to some of the best cultivated in England, while others show that time and capital only are wanting to assimilate them; nor

is this state of things confined to the above-named localities, but is applicable to various other parts of the settled tracts. Break-o'-Day plains are a series of lofty hills, between which and the Ben Lomond range on the north, there are open grassy lands watered by mountain rivulets. On the south is the St. Paul's tier, so called from the dome-like appearance of one of the elevations. The St. Paul's plains are a succession of indulations running to the eastward, marked by some of the remarkable natural ridges found in different parts of the country, and called "Dead Men's Graves."

The road, of 124 miles, between Hobart Town and Launceston, is tolerably good, and located throughout; it has a considerable degree of traffic, vehicles of all kinds are to be seen there, including mails and stage-coaches, and private carriages attended by servants in livery; while goods of every description are conveyed in drays drawn by a team of bullocks from two to eight in number, as occasion may require.

George Town, situated in *Dorset County* (in $41^{\circ} 6' 20''$ S. lat., $4^{\circ} 23' 44''$ W. of Sydney), from its excellent harbour and commanding position, about three miles from the mouth of the Tamar, was originally designed for what Launceston has now become, the entrepôt for the northern portion of the island, but this project was frustrated by the inferiority of the land in its vicinity. For a defensive station, it offers great advantages, which have too long been neglected. It is now merely a straggling village, but its mild and salubrious air, render it a favourite resort for sea-bathing. It stands at the foot of a snug cove on the western side of a group of conical hills, and is well supplied with water from springs in its immediate neighbourhood. An excellent road has been made between George Town and Launceston, a distance of about forty miles, through a country rendered interesting by the picturesque reaches of the Tamar. *York Town*, on the opposite bank, was an early settlement, since almost wholly abandoned, from its unfavourable soil. The *George Town District* extends on both banks of the river, towards Launceston, and has tracts of fertile soil on either side; considerably to the east of the town itself there is good soil, and the valley of Piper's river is rich, but limited and somewhat thickly wooded; further on to the eastward, the flat-bottomed, marshy, scrubby valleys of Forrester, Boobiala, and Anson's rivers, are stated by Strzelecki to

offer every inducement to agriculture, though requiring like other parts still in a state of nature, an outlay of capital and labour.

About twelve miles south of Launceston, on the high road to Hobart Town, is the thriving village of *Perth*, pleasantly situated on the lofty bank of the South Esk. Two substantial bridges have been thrown across the river, and the churches, mills, &c. form a picturesque scene. A little to the westward of Perth is *Longford*, or *Latour*, a town of recent formation, situated in the *District* now called by the same name, but formerly known as *Norfolk Plains*; it has

* The following description of "cattle-hunting," from the graphic pen of Mr. David Burn, may interest many of my readers:—"In the early days of the colony, ere the local enactment, called the fencing act, had rendered Van Diemen's Land aught beyond a vast common, the cattle of the different settlers were wont to range in hardly restrained liberty throughout the island. With the exception of such as were brought up by hand, or broken into work, the bulk of the herds were as wild as deer, and scarcely less fleet. It thus became necessary to mount herdsmen, who were termed stock-keepers. The province of such herds was to ride round the animals, and keep them as much together as practicable. In addition to this, it was necessary to collect them at particular seasons, for the purpose of cutting, and marking the increase. At any great gathering, several riders were invariably congregated. By many of these, cattle-hunting was regarded as a sport of the most exciting character—no way inferior to a fox-chase—indeed it was an amusement not unpregnant with danger, requiring a tolerable share of nerve and equestrian skill. The hunters were armed with long heavy whips, not so much for the purpose of flogging the animals, as to terrify them with the tremendous cracking, wherewith the bills and valleys were made to resound. No sooner did the huntsman perceive a knot, or as it was colonially termed, *mob* of cattle, than giving his steed the rein, he dashed at them, awaking the echoes with the thunder of his thong, and urging the affrighted oxen madly before him. At the first off-set a tremendous pace was kept up, although the aim of the pursuer might merely be to keep the beast in view until he could increase the group by further accessions. The wily oxen however, seemed generally perfectly aware of such an intent, which they endeavoured in every way to evade; and when a considerable herd had been collected, it required the utmost vigilance and skill to keep the phalanx compact. Sometimes a sulky bull making a dash from the main body—sometimes an old cow becoming blown and refusing to progress—and not infrequently a rebellious subdivision forcing the ranks, and charging down hill with reckless impetuosity.

"For one man to attempt the control of such a herd is an absurdity; indeed it can hardly be achieved by two—for should two or three detachments thus break away, and the main body be left until the deserters were reclaimed, in all probability, ere such a consummation could be effected, the column so left to themselves would have dispersed and become lost to view. The fleetness of wild cattle far exceeds the conception of those who have never beheld them

rapidly acquired importance from the beauty and extreme fertility of the surrounding country.

Westbury Town and District (in *Westmoreland County*), likewise formerly included in the New Norfolk district, form one of the finest cattle tracts in the country;* and the farms situated on the Quamby or Western river are of a superior character.

Port Sorell Town and District comprise the chief located tracts of *Devon County*, and include some land in good cultivation. The eastern portion towards Port Dalrymple is hilly, being crossed by the ridge called in full career. These flying detachments will frequently lead the pursuer, at the imminent hazard of breaking his neck, a race of several miles, tearing up and down the hills, doubling and winding in the most rapid and artful manner, and dashing through the underwood and fallen timber, where the spirited semi-Arab courser was sure to follow. Here the greatest risk is incurred. A horse trained to cattle-hunting will follow every inflection of the chase, doubling and winding as rapidly as the oxen themselves; and therefore to avoid a somerset, the utmost caution is requisite; even a wary eye, a ready hand, and prompt attention being sometimes insufficient to save the rider a heavy fall. The chance, however, of being thus unhorsed, is nothing compared to the danger incurred by encountering the limbs of trees, amid which cattle precipitate themselves when hard pressed. Many a good rider has owed his life, or at least escaped from broken bones more to the sagacity of his steed than to any efforts or ability of his own.

"When the heads of such refractory runaways, as it has been endeavoured to depict, have at length been turned in the wished-for direction, a fresh bound is almost sure to be attempted in a new quarter, to control which requires consummate tact. Having regained the battalion whence the troublesome skirmishers have so annoyingly deployed, it will no longer be found in close column, unless the party may have been strong enough to leave a horseman to keep it in check. No, without awaiting the word of command, they have taken open order, scouring the country far and near. Away once more speeds man and horse—tramp, tramp, like the Bürger's Leonora; hurraing—shouting—storming, and cracking their whips, until the tiresome brutes again fall in. Cattle which have broken from the herd have been often so run down as to become incapable of further flight. In such condition they are somewhat dangerous, standing at bay, and charging horse and rider with the utmost fury. Although, as a sport cattle-hunting may have been exciting, nevertheless the wear and tear of horses, and the flesh run off the oxen themselves, added to the great loss of time (proprietors being many weeks collecting the bulk of their herds), rendered the keeping of such wild animals a profitless speculation, unless carried on to a very great extent. The enclosing and subdividing of estates, together with the numerous improvements in the breed and management, have rendered cattle-hunting nearly an obsolete story; the quiet Devon, Suffolk, Hereford, Fife, Ayrshire, or Durham cow having superseded the half buffalo breed of earlier date."

the Asbestos mountains, from the circumstance of asbestos being found there. The western, towards Port Frederick, is low towards the shore, and has a gentle rise further inland. Having noticed the chief northern settlements, I return to those situated between Launceston and Hobart.

Campbell Town, in *Somerset County*, is situated on the banks of a small tributary of the Macquarie, called Elizabeth river, over which a causeway has been erected. It contains some good buildings, and wears a prosperous appearance. There is much good land in its vicinity, although on the north, between it and *Perth*, a sandy, unproductive tract extends, more heavily timbered than the generality of this part of the country, called *Epping Forest*, beyond which lie *Henrietta Plains*, and other open and fertile tracts. The long ridge, sometimes distinguished as the *Eastern Tier*, of which the most conspicuous summits are the jagged peaks of *Ben Lomond*, stretch to the eastward of Campbell Town, to the westward of which lies the embryo township of Lincoln, laid out at the confluence of the *Isis* with the river *Macquarie*; and to the southward, likewise, in *Somerset County*, are the villages of *Lincoln* and *Ross*, or *Ross Bridge*, as it is frequently called, from the long narrow wooden structure that here crosses the Macquarie. Two miles from Ross about 30,000 acres of land were originally reserved by government as peculiarly available for farming purposes, but they have long since been disposed of to private individuals, and are now under successful cultivation. To the south of Ross lie extensive flats of excellent pasturage, called *Salt Pan Plains*, from two large salt marshes therein situated, the one of about forty, the other some twenty acres in extent. In winter these marshes are filled

with rain, which, after the evaporation caused by the summer heat, have a crust of fine white salt, varying in thickness from a quarter to half-an-inch. These plains are terminated on the south by woody hills, among which is a defile called *St. Peter's Pass*, a few miles beyond which lies *Oatlands*, a thriving but not prettily-situated town, nearly midway between the southern and northern capitals. It adjoins a rushy lagoon, about four miles in extent, called *Lake Frederic*, and has some substantial public buildings, and a considerable number of good freestone dwellings. The land around is well supplied with surface water, and otherwise adapted for agricultural purposes. Limestone is abundant in this neighbourhood. Between Oatlands and a straggling settlement called *Jericho** lies a beautiful level, comprising from ten to twelve hundred acres, originally called *Fourteen Tree Plain*, from a singularly formed group which grew there. *Jericho* is situated on the right bank of the *River Jordan*, which, from its head down to *Brighton*, a distance of about thirty miles, comprises a series of very flourishing farms.

Bothwell Town and District are situated to the westward of Oatlands, on the left bank of the Clyde, which divides the counties of *Monmouth* and *Cumberland*. It has a neat church, military barracks, gaol, mills, good inns, &c., and is built upon a somewhat sandy flat, backed by wooded and mountainous country. In its vicinity are some valuable estates, with handsome residences. *Den Hill*, an eminence of long, tedious, and, for cattle, even dangerous ascent, lies between Bothwell and Hobart Town. The distance between these places, by the line of road, is about forty-six miles. To the south of *Bothwell*, on the same bank

* The origin of the names of places in our colonies will hereafter be a puzzling subject for the antiquarian; and certainly the designations of various localities in Van Diemen's Island, unless explained, will give rise to innumerable conjectures. The strange juxta-position of such words as *Jericho* and *Bagdad*, *Jerusalem* and *Abyssinia*, *Jordan* and *Nile*, *St. Paul's river* and *Hell's gates*, *Tiberias* and *Troy*, is thus explained:—At the period of the early settlement of the colony, in 1804–5–6, the colonists and convicts were much in want of animal food, and several persons—soldiers, freemen, and convicts, were allowed to range the bush in quest of game, a mode of life which subsequently led to the crime of "bush-ranging." Among the parties so employed there was one under the direction of a marine, named *Hugh Germaine*, who, with two convicts, collected kangaroos, emus, &c., for a marine officer, to whom *Germaine* was servant. Game was then very plen-

tiful; and on the spot where Hobart Town barracks now stand, *Germaine* killed a large forest kangaroo, who measured nine feet from the tip of the nose to that of the hind feet, and whose hind quarters weighed 130 lbs. *Germaine* and his assistants pursued this life for several years, and returned to his master, on an average, 1,000 lbs. of animal food weekly, which was sold to government for 1s. 6d. per lb. For five years *Germaine* never once slept in a bed, and lived entirely in the bush with his companions. Only one of the party could read; and the sole books in their possession were a Bible and the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*. Whenever, therefore, the hunters were in want of a name to distinguish a place—having previously exhausted the vocabulary of Kangaroo Point, Emu Plains, &c.—they chose their names out of the book of sacred writ, and from among the most celebrated scenes described by the Arabian story-teller.

of the Clyde, is the pretty town of *Hamilton*, situated in the *District of Hamilton*. It has a handsome stone church, good flour mill, police court, &c. The road from Jericho to Hobart lies through an old-established little hamlet called *Lovely Banks*, and thence through a rich flat about six miles in extent, called the *Cross Marsh*, intersected by the Jordan, to the fertile valley of Bagdad, (enclosed throughout with post and rail fences), which, though at first of limited breadth, expands as it approximates to the Derwent into noble plains, equally desirable for the farmer or the grazier. It is bounded on either hand by moderate hills, whose slopes afford excellent pasturage. Some few miles' distance, to the right, lies the settlement called *Tea Tree Bush*, and on the left of the townwards road is the township of *Brighton*, which stands in the midst of very extensive but somewhat stony plains, immediately below the junction of *Strathallan Creek* with the *Jordan*, and above their embouche, in a beautiful cove of the Derwent, which soon after, taking first a south-west and then a north-west direction, separates the counties of Monmouth and Buckingham. On the northern frontier of the latter county, and on the southern bank of the river, stands *New Norfolk* or *Elizabeth Town*, distant twenty-two miles from Hobart Town, built upon an eminence called *Richmond Hill*, which slopes gently towards the Derwent. It is the centre of a small but very productive district. Its public buildings present nothing remarkable, except the hospital, whose external construction and internal arrangements are both admirable. The town is well watered by means of an aqueduct cut from a rivulet named the *Thames*.* A pretty little hamlet, exactly facing New Norfolk, on the opposite shore, borders a streamlet called *Back River*, and lies in a sort of natural basin surrounded by rising ground, a conspicuous eminence, named from its form *Mount Dromedary*, towering above the rest.

Richmond, in *Monmouth County*, is a village of some consideration, having, besides the usual buildings in an incipient town, an excellent stone bridge, and a windmill with a stone tower, and good inns. It is situated at the head of Pitt Water, a salt-water

lagoon communicating with North Bay, about six miles in length and three in breadth, around which there is a considerable portion of comparatively level land of the first description, adapted for either agricultural or pastoral purposes. The small settlement called *Jerusalem* lies near the sources of Coal river, which disembogues at Richmond into the Pitt Water lagoon, on whose north-eastern shore stands *Sorell Town* (Pembroke county), a thriving place, with a church and parsonage-house, school-house, windmill, and several good inns. The land in the vicinity is considered among the best in the colony, some is even said to have produced sixteen crops of wheat in succession, many of them self-sown. The view from behind the town is very English-like; undulating cultivated ground, divided into fields by post and rail-fences, and ornamented by the scattered dwellings of settlers, stretches in various directions among the woody hills. To the south of *Sorell* is *Carlton*, a pretty little hamlet situated on a creek opening into North Bay.

The centre of *Pembroke County* is occupied by *Brushy Plains*, an extensive flat of open forest, bearing grass and sedgy herbage, intermingled with scrub, and joining some swampy land called the *White Marsh*. From thence, over a series of open forest hills, there is a road to *Prosser's Plains*, a grassy district partially located. The adjacent rugged woody ravine of Prosser's river is ironically called *Paradise*, and on the route to *Prosser's Bay* some very rough steep hills are termed the *Devil's Royals*. From the latter-named bay the track leads through a few open forest grassy hills to the agricultural settlement at Spring Bay. The road from Prosser's Plains to *Kelvedon* passes beside a soft salt marsh, at the head of the *Little Swan Port*, and over a series of basaltic bluffs, divided by deep ravines called the *Rocky Hills*, which separate the districts of Little and Great Swan Port. The forest is distinguished from most others in the island by the prevalence of a cypress-like tree, called the oyster bay pine (*callitris pyramidalis*.)

The chief locations in the *County of Glamorgan* are comprehended in the *Great*

* A curious circumstance, noticed by Prinsep as recorded in the early annals of New Norfolk, is, that a whale once found its way thus far up the Derwent, and being unable to turn, was easily made a prize of by the astonished inhabitants. A gentleman in the neighbourhood gave a considerable sum

for it, and hastened to Hobart Town, expecting to profit by his speculation; but, on his return, he found the monster of the deep already disposed of, having been devoured, during his absence, by the small fish.—*Journal of a Voyage from Calcutta to Van Diemen's Island*, p. 77.

Swan Port District, a large but thinly-populated tract, extending along the shores of *Oyster Bay*, and backed by a continuous ridge of high land (see "Coast Line.") It includes some fine pastures, and a fair proportion of agricultural soil; but the peculiar feature of this locality is the whale fishery.

In the *County of Kent* there are as yet few traces of cultivation, except in the immediate vicinity of *South Port*, although the fertile banks of the *Huon* and its tributaries will, doubtless, be speedily located whenever Tasmania shall obtain the elements of prosperity, in which alone she is now deficient, namely, capital and free labour.

Two inland townships still remain to be noticed, namely, *Morven* and *Horton*; both of them have been formed since those to which I have previously alluded, and are now the centre of rising districts, especially the former, whose population, importance, &c., as will be seen in the statistical section, has increased extraordinarily during the last few years, already surpassing many places of far older establishment. The townships, however, one and all, are, as it were, the creation of yesterday; and to attempt in this place a detailed description of them would be but to waste space, since in a few years the likeness might probably scarcely be recognised, more especially as the limits of the existing divisions are liable to continual alteration.

The territories occupied by the Van Diemen's Land Agricultural Company lie in the north-western portion of the island, and include the following tracts:—

The Peninsula of *Circular Head*, whose seaward face has been described in the "Coast Line," is $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, and contains about 8,000 acres, of which some 4,000 acres consist, for the most part, of dry open grassy hills, with an excellent herbage of fine grass, trefoil, cinquefoil, and wild vetches. The soil is light, but productive. About 2,000 acres are covered with small trees, and many parts, though rocky, comprise patches of good grass. Water is difficult of attainment.

At *Highfield Plain*, on the north-west part of the peninsula, 36 acres of forest have been cut down, and the land brought into cultivation, the well-tilled fields wearing a cheerful aspect. The village contains farm buildings, stores, workshops, a jetty, and several residences, of which the principal is the handsome dwelling, with its fine garden and demesne, of the Company's agent (see view on map), occupying some rising ground

on the northern part of the point. Substantial barracks for the convicts in the employ of the Company have been erected at this station, also well-constructed stone stables for the valuable horses reared at *Circular Head*.

At *East Bay* much labour has been effectually bestowed upon large shices of marsh rescued from the influx of the sea.

The country adjacent to the peninsula consists principally of barren heathy plains and low swampy forests, and the part near the shore is cut up with the branches of a large estuary.

The vicinity of *Woolnorth* is basaltic, and to the westward low and marshy, but the land generally is of fair quality, and some of the soil is red loam. *Highbury*, the township of the district, comprises cottages, stores, farm-buildings, &c., belonging to the Company. The low ground near the coast is open grassy forest; short bushes cover some parts of the interior, and the sandy and grassy hills south of *Woolnorth* have good sheep pastures.

Between *Circular Head* and *Emu Bay*, the country is intersected by many rivers, and the road lies close along the coast; proceeding from a muddy bay near the peninsula, for eight miles on a sandy beach, *Black River* is reached; here blue slate of good quality, and limestone, are found; thence, five miles of beach lead to *Crayfish River*, and four more to *Detention River* (see map), where there is a grassy plain at the foot of some steep white quartz hills near *Rocky Cape*; which are thinly covered with sandy peat, and have scattered over them a species of *Xanthorrhæa* or grass tree, and a beautiful *Blandfordia*, with stems one foot and-a-half high, supporting crests of ten to twenty pendulous red blossoms, margined with yellow, one inch and-a-half long, and three-quarters of an inch wide at the mouth. East of these hills is a level plain, on which the *Banksia serratifolia* is the prevailing tree; it is equal in size to a pear-tree, its heads of flowers are six inches long and twelve round; the seeds as large as almonds. Near *Table Cape* there is some rich red loamy soil, clothed with luxuriant vegetation; fern, prickly acacia, and musky aster, grow so thickly as to render a passage difficult. The tree ferns are particularly numerous, and many lofty shrubs are over-run with the white clematis and different climbing vines, alike over-topped by stately stringy barks and white gum trees about

200 feet high. The road thence passes along the beach, crossing the *Inglis* and *Cam* rivers to *Emu Bay*, near which the Van Diemen's Land Company have a store; the goods are landed on the basaltic rocks which there rise perpendicularly out of the sea in pentagonal columns.

Between *Emu Bay* and the *Hampshire Hills* (distant twenty miles), lies a magnificent forest; for a few miles from the sea it consists chiefly of white gum and stringy-bark trees 200 feet high, with straight trunks clear of branches for from 100 to 150 feet, and resembling, in the opinion of James Backhouse, who traversed this region, "an assemblage of elegant columns so irregularly placed as to intercept the view at the distance of a few hundred yards." These giants of the forest are crowned with branching tops of light willow-like foliage, but at an elevation too great to allow the form of the leaves to be distinguished, yet casting a gentle shade on the fern-trees and shrubs below, as well as on the smaller ferns which carpet the ground.

As the distance from the sea increases, the Australian myrtle and sassafras, with their dark dense foliage, become the prevailing trees, while the undergrowth is composed of the tree-fern, some of which have trunks twenty feet high, and leaves eight to twelve feet long, which with the new ones forming, rise in the centre like eroziers. The road is ascending and undulating, broken at intervals by grassy elevated plains and vales, varying in extent from 300 to 1,500 acres, intersected in every direction by clear streams with pebbly beds.

St. Valentine's Peak, although only six miles from the Hampshire, requires a distance of sixteen miles to be traversed before its summit is reached, owing to the thickness of the myrtle forest, which extends part of the way up one side. From the top of the Peak (see map) the north coast is visible near Port Sorell, the Cradle mountain, Barn Bluff, and the lower parts of the western tier bound the prospect on the east. Numerous mountains are visible to the south, and on the west the sea is seen through a few openings in the hills. The whole view, except the sea, the projecting rocks, and a few small open tracts of land, such as the Hampshire hills, Goderich plains, &c., appears to extend over one vast sombre forest.

The Van Diemen's Land Agricultural Company have a settlement in the Hamp-

shire hills, upon a gently rising eminence, among grassy and ferny slopes, interspersed with forest, and watered by clear brooks, bordered by beautiful shrubs.

An opening in the forest called *St. Mary's Plain* is described by J. Backhouse as being clear of wood, except a few clumps of silver wattle on the hills, and lines of tea tree on the margins of the brooks by which it is intersected; one of these falling over a basaltic rock, forms a pretty waterfall, about forty feet high and thirty feet wide; it is decorated with the tea tree at the top and sides, and at the bottom a shrubby *aster* with toothed leaves, is loaded so profusely with pure white blossoms as to bend gracefully in all directions. The grassy hills are besprinkled with buttercups, blue speedwell, flax, stylidium, and little white flowers resembling English daisies. The road to this "spot of great beauty" is through a myrtle and stringy-bark forest, by which it is encircled.

The *Surrey Hills*, about twenty miles to the south of the Hampshire hills, have an elevation of nearly 2,000 feet, and are equally beautiful; they resemble in some places English enclosures, being separated by brooks, bordered by belts of sloping shrubberies; in others the knolls resemble a neglected old park.

Mr. Fossey, who traversed the Surrey hills, likewise represents the neighbouring country as resembling in appearance a nobleman's domain, both as to extent and quality, particularly that part lying east of the river Leven. The *Green Forest*, which divides the Surrey from the Hampshire hills, comprises myrtle, sassafras, "celery-top" pine, with a little stringy bark, all of large circumference. There are also the "pepper" and fern trees, with musk and dogwood. The whole distance from the Hampshire hills to the coast is like the Green forest, except two small plots of land. A considerable portion of the forest is very flat and dry, rich in soil as nature can make it, and tolerably open, to within about three miles of the coast.

The climate of the Hampshire and of the Surrey hills is as humid as that of Yorkshire; indeed, on the former, which are nearest to the sea, the quantity of rain which fell, from 1835 to 1839, averaged annually 67 inches; in 1838 it exceeded 80 inches. Snow falls in winter to the depth of a foot, or more; fogs are unknown, and the air is salubrious. Limestone and building-stone

are attainable, and offer inducements to settlers, but, on the other hand, the difficulty of removing the timber is a serious obstacle.

The measurement of trees growing in two acres of the Emu bay forest is thus stated by the late Mr. Hellyer:—

	First Acre.	Second Acre.
Trees under 12 inches in girth	500	704
Trees from 1 to 2 feet in girth	992	880
" 2 to 3 " 	716	148
" 3 to 6 " 	56	56
" 6 to 12 " 	20	32
" 12 to 21 " 	12	28
" 21 to 30 " 	4	8
Trees 30 feet and upwards	4	8
Fern trees	84	112
Total	2,384	1,976

Vegetation of every description seems to thrive in these districts. The tea tree (*Leptospermum lanigerum*), usually a shrub of about 10 feet in height, was found at Chilton, near the foot of Valentine's Peak, 70 feet high and 7 feet in circumference. The silver wattle, in the same locality, grew 70 feet high and 11 feet two inches round; while a sassafras tree measured 6 feet round and 140 high. At the junction of the *Emu River* with the *Loudwater* (so called from its cascade), within a distance of half-a-mile, ten standing trees were measured, whose height was 180 to 200 feet, and their circumference 18 to 20 feet. One tree which had fallen, was ascended and walked along by four persons abreast with ease. The elevation, traceable by the branches, was 213 feet. In his fall he had overturned another 168 feet high. Some of these trees, when felled, are so large that they cannot be cut into lengths for splitting. Near the *Guide River* two myrtles were measured, of 32 and 42 feet round, and, with many others, appeared to be about 150 feet high. Some of the tree ferns have 32 old and 26 new fronds; the usual number is 6 old and 4 new, exclusive of the dead ones. The description given by Backhouse, of some of these forest trees is very graphic. In one place, at a few miles from Emu bay, he measured a tree supposed to be 250 feet high, which had a girth of $55\frac{1}{2}$ feet at 5 feet from the ground; its circumference at the surface was about 70 feet. He adds: "My companions spoke to each other when at the opposite side of the tree to myself, and their voices sounded so distant that I concluded they had inadvertently left me to see some other object, and immediately called to

them; they, in answer, remarked the distant sound of my voice, and inquired if I were behind the tree!"

When the road was forming through this forest, a man who had only about 200 yards to go from one company of the work-people to another, lost himself; he called, and was repeatedly answered, but getting further astray, his voice became more indistinct till it ceased to be heard, and he perished. Some of the white gum trees are of such equal circumference, that in a fallen trunk of 100 feet in length, it was difficult to determine which end had grown uppermost.

The Van Diemen's Land Agricultural Company's station at *Chilton*, distant 113 miles from Launceston, is about 2,106 feet above the sea, and consists of high marshy flats. Proceeding thence towards Launceston the *Leven River* is crossed, the road beyond lies through some open forest, over the swampy Black Bluff mountains (3,381 feet high), and across a fine open country called the *Vale of Belvoir*, in which there is a sheet of water named *Patterdale Lake*. The Belvoir vale has numerous pits of water and streams even with the grass, dividing and again uniting. There are also deep fissures in the earth destitute of water. Passing the *Middlesex Plains* the *Isis River* is crossed, and the *Great Western Road*, as it is termed, leads through an open forest. On the descent to the *Forth River*, which is about 2,000 feet, there are some beautiful views of mountain scenery. The river is here wide and rapid, and the noise of the fall called the *Forth's Gateway*, is audible at a considerable distance.

Gad's Hill, which lies between the *Forth* and the *Mersey*, is 2,588 feet high, very steep, and clothed with timber. On the top of the hill are some pretty grassy plains. After passing the *Mersey* river there are a few hills, and some small limestone plains, called the *Circular Pond Marshes*, which derive their name from a number of circular basins that seem to have been formed by the draining off of the waters through subterranean channels. Some of these pits are full of water, the outlets below being choked with mud; others are empty and grassy down to their perforated bottoms. There are also here, as in other parts of the island, some remarkable caverns, with openings like doorways, and long subterranean passages, opening into grassy hollows.

Between the *Circular Ponds* and the *Mole River* (so called from its occasionally flow-

ing underground), there is some elevated land.

Newly-discovered Country.—We are as yet imperfectly acquainted with the character of the territory recently explored in the western part of the island, and around Port Macquarie and Port Davey; it appears to be somewhat similar to the scenery and grassy elevations of the Hampshire and Surrey hills, only the plains are larger, and the mountains loftier than those in the northern districts. The area of some of these tracts is thus estimated:—*King William's Plains* 40,000 acres, *Guelph Plains* 20,000 acres, *Vale of Gordon* 120,000 acres, *Pedder and Huon Plains* 12,000, forest openings 8,000 acres; total 280,000 acres. The rough herbage has been burnt on these plains to promote the growth of the grasses which succeed it, and in some parts, especially near lakes Pedder and Edgar, the pasture is luxuriant.

The plains to the westward of the Arthur range, those near Port Davey, Bathurst plains, Painter's plains, and those on the Franklin, near the foot of the Frenchman's Cap, beside the valleys of the Denison and the Picton rivers, have as yet only been seen by Mr. Cotton, the assistant surveyor-general, from the mountain peaks: he was of course unable to estimate satisfactorily their extent, but he considers an area of 100 miles in length by 40 in breadth, or one million acres of land are fit for the immediate occupation of flocks, and that the tract contains a full proportion of fertile country fit for agricultural purposes, and *never-failing rivers*. Its geological structure is said to bespeak the existence of metals, and the banks of the Gordon, from their abrupt bend to the salt-water level, are peculiarly deserving of attention.

These fine tracts of open country have hitherto been an unknown land, owing to the almost impenetrable natural barriers with which they have been surrounded. Surveying and working parties are now employed under the direction of the surveyor-general of the colony, Captain Power: the base of operations being on the upper part of the Derwent, and on the lower part of the Huon. A cart-road has been opened from Marlborough to the north part of King William's plains, a distance of twenty-four miles. A branch road from the above passes between Mount Charles and the Wentworth hills, ten miles to the Derwent, and a foot-tract has been marked out from

the Guelph river to the head of the Gordon. A bridle-road has been opened from Victoria, on the Huon river, through a very intricate forest country, bordering that river to lakes Pedder and Edgar, a distance of fifty miles, over many small streams and the *Arve*, the *Picton*, and *Cracroft*, which are of more importance (see map).

Unexplored Country.—The territory lying between Woolnorth and Maequarie Harbour, a tract about 100 miles long, by 30 to 50 miles broad, is almost entirely unknown. Judging from the nature of the country about the *Surrey Hills* in the north, and the *Frenchman's Cap Mountain* in the south, there will probably be found large available districts, and as the settlers are now locating their flocks along the rich valleys of the Gordon and Huon rivers, they will soon be led to seek fresh herbage in the more northern parts of the island. Pastoral pursuits are the ordinary precursors of agriculture, and it is the advantages it offers for both, but especially the latter branch of rural industry, that renders Tasmania such an eligible position for men with small capital, who desire to obtain a subsistence from the soil.

Farming is better understood, and more carefully practised in Van Diemen's Island than in New South Wales; the extensive sheep downs and cattle runs in Australia invite the settler to grazing pursuits, but the absence of these extensive prairies, and the rich alluvial valleys of the Tamar, Derwent, and other rivers in Van Diemen's Island, almost compel the Tasmanians to devote their energies to the tillage of the earth. Hence the appearance of elegant mansions and pleasure-grounds; tasteful cottages surrounded by gardens, well-stocked farm-yards, and extensive barns; comfortable homesteads and productive orchards; admirably tilled fields, divided by neatly-clipped hedgerows; while the agricultural villages, with their church, school, and parsonage, the well-supplied inns, and excellent stage coaches surprise every traveller on visiting Tasmania. Sir William Denison, in a recent dispatch to Earl Grey, says—

"Comparing the aspect of the colony with colonies of far older date, settled under different circumstances, we are at once struck with the appearance of wealth and prosperity which is everywhere manifested. The houses in the towns are well built of stone or brick; the streets are well kept; the roads are remarkably good; the wharfs and public buildings show evidence of a large outlay of labour. In fact, there is a general aspect of ease and affluence throughout the length and breadth of the land."

CHAPTER III.

GEOLOGY—MINERALOGY—SOIL—CLIMATE—AND DISEASES.

THE general geological features of Van Diemen's Island are similar to those of Australia; but the effects of subterranean agency, as evinced in the torn, rugged, and contorted surface of the colony, are more manifest in the lesser and southern island. Comte Strzelecki found, during his scientific researches, that in Van Diemen's Island the space occupied by the *crystalline* as compared with the *sedimentary* rocks, was 7 : 1; in New South Wales, 3 : 1. A classification of all the mineral masses, whether unstratified or stratified, into two divisions—the one including rocks having more than 60 per cent. of silica, the other less than 60 per cent.—shews that in Van Diemen's Island the area of the first division is to that of the second as 1 : 3; in New South Wales, as 4 : 1 : 1.*

The various geological details given in the previous divisions, on New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia, although applicable, do not require recapitulation; but it may be advisable to mention some of the leading characteristics of Van Diemen's Island, which Strzelecki supposes to have been originally composed of five islands: the *first* approaching the form of a triangle, and included between Cape Portland, St. Patrick's Head, and the head of the river Forrester; the *second* constituting what are now called the Asbestos hills; the *third*, a small island, now forming the valley of the Lake river: the *fourth* including the eastern portion of the Hampshire hills and a part of the northern shores; and the *fifth*, an oblong and indented island, comprising a part of Middlesex Plains, and enclosed between Macquarie Harbour, Port Davey, South-west Cape, South Cape, the right bank of Huon river, the west side of Lake St. Clair, and Western Bluff.

The localities where different rocks are found, are stated by Strzelecki to be:—*granite*—Eldon range, Ben Lomond, and Frenchman's Cap; *glandular granite*—Flinders' island, Cape Portland, and Black ridge; *porphyritic granite*—Eldon and Black ranges, and Ben Nevis; *protogene*—Eldon range; *sienite*—islands in Bass Straits, eastern coast of Van Diemen's Island, on Mounts

* Strzelecki, p. 155.

Horror and Humboldt, and at Port Davey; *quartz*—the most remarkable locality is in the dividing range west of Lake St. Clair, Frenchman's Cap, and the spur which unites that mountain to the main ridge of the dividing range; the granular variety is principally found between the Meander and the Mersey rivers, at Rocky Cape, Cape Grim, and the heads of the Derwent; *eurite*—on the summit of Flinders' island; in Van Diemen's Island it appears first between Mount Cameron and Waterhouse Point, and is next met on the Black range; it is also found on the St. George and Scamander rivers, to the north of St. Patrick and Ben Nevis, and to the south of St. Valentine's Peak, in the Hampshire hills; *serpentine* is seen in a mountainous mass on the Asbestos hills; on their west side it is associated with mica-schist, on the east with limestone, on the north with greenstone; the maximum height at which it is found is 1,500 feet; the structure decidedly amorphous, but in the vicinity of the river Rubicon it shews some slight appearance of stratification. The foregoing constitute the *crystalline* rocks, which form by far the largest portion of the island; the distinguishing lithological peculiarities of each are stated in the previous division on New South Wales, pp. 500, 501.

As regards the *sedimentary* rocks, it may be briefly noted that *mica-schist* is found in various places, associated with granite, sienite, and serpentine; siliceous and argillaceous slate exist in many localities; limestone, compact and fossiliferous, is widely spread; much of the common limestone is of a yellowish or reddish colour, owing doubtless to the quantity of oxide of iron with which it is mixed; slaty greenstone is obtainable in every part of the island, at various heights, to an elevation of 5,200 feet above the sea and shore, capping some of the most prominent elevations of the interior.

For the benefit of those who understand little of the scientific nomenclatures of geology, and the relative position of different strata, but who wish to know what are the useful rocks, I may state that argil appears in the form of excellent roof-slate, at a cer-

tain spot between Launceston and George town. In the form of mica, it is found in large masses on the rocks round Port Davey, on the southern corner of the island, where, being much exposed to the winds and waves of the Southern Ocean, they have become so much worn by the weather, as to put on the appearance of snow. Excellent sandstone for building is obtained in almost every part of the island, and many of the houses in Hobart Town are now built with it, instead of badly made bricks, as formerly; it is brought from different parts within half-a-mile or a mile of the town. A quarry of this kind has recently been discovered at Port Arthur, where the manufacture of filtering-stones, it is probable, will be found a profitable employment. Flints are scattered in great plenty upon the hills, especially in neighbourhoods where basalt abounds. They generally occur in the globular form, covered with a white indurated crust of chalk. Other rarer species of the siliceous genus have been found in different parts of the island, especially in those which appear to have been washed, in former times, by the ocean, and which have been deposited in certain ranges or linear positions by the lashing of the waves, and the subsiding of the waters. Of these may be mentioned, though found generally in small pieces, hornstone, schistus, wood-opal, blood-stone, jasper, and that singular species called the cat's eye, reflecting different rays of light, according to its position. Marble, well adapted for domestic purposes, is obtainable in several places.

Basalt is very abundant; indeed, it would appear to be the predominant substratum of the island. All along the coast, it presents itself in rocky precipitous heights, standing on beautiful columnar pedestals, as at Fluted cape, Adventure bay. Circular Head is a remarkable instance of the singular appearance which this species of rock puts on, resembling different artificial productions of man: it stands out into the sea, exactly like a huge round tower or fortress, built by human hands. At Cape Grim, some of the upper portions of the cliff are soft sandstone, but the most striking portions are of columnar basalt. Mount Wellington, the great western Table Mountain, and the rocky banks of many of the mountain rivers, as the Shannon, are composed of this rock. In some parts, both on the coast and in the interior, the columns stand up in insulated positions, springing up from the grass or the

ocean like obelisks or huge needles, and presenting a singular appearance to the eye. On the south end of Bruni island, which is composed of this rock, there are several of this description; and those upon the land stand erect upon their several blocks, gradually diminishing as they rise, till the force of a well-aimed stone would be sufficient to drive the uppermost from its seat. As this rock has the power of acting on the magnetic needle, and since it occurs in such large masses in the island, it may account, in some measure, for the variations which travellers in the bush sometimes experience, who depend on the guidance of the pocket compass. Elevated beaches are found in several places; that which forms Green island, in Bass strait, is a comminuted mass of shells, and rises to the height of 100 feet. Similar up-heavings are found on the west and south coasts of Tasmania.

Petrified remains of wood, and other vegetable productions, entirely converted into siliceous matter, and capable of the finest polish, are occasionally met with in different parts of the island, especially in the Macquarie district, at Allenvale, and Mr. Barker's estate, where whole trunks and branches of trees have been found, some in a horizontal, and others in a vertical position, exhibiting the fibres and structure of the leaves and wood, the distribution of the vessels, and the annular growth, as distinctly, and in as perfect a state as in the living tree.

MINERALS.—Iron ore, of a red, a brown, and a black colour, is very frequently met with; some analyzations gave eighty per cent. of the pure mineral. It occurs, though rarely, and in smaller quantities, under the form of red chalk, which, when mixed with grease, is used by the aborigines to adorn themselves with fantastic figures. Of other metallic ores, specimens of red and green copper, lead, zinc, manganese (and, according to some persons, silver and gold), have occasionally been met with. There are no metallic mines as yet worked; but, judging from the geological characteristics, and the formation and locality of Van Diemen's Island, I have no doubt it is rich in mineral productions.

Coal has been found cropping out in various places right across the island:—beginning at South cape, it is found at Satellite island, in D'Entrecasteaux's channel, on the banks of the Huon river, at Hobart Town, at New Norfolk, the Coal river, Jerusalem, Jericho, and other places. The stratum of

the South cape is situated on the north side of the bay, and extends about two miles along the coast. A few miles above New Norfolk, at Mr. Cawthorn's farm, on the Derwent, a fine bed of what is termed wood-coal has been discovered, at a depth of about thirty feet. Mr. James Rennie, on examination, ascertained that the layers and fibres of the wood are very marked and distinct, even to the worming and irregular lines caused by knots; yet when the pieces are broken transversely, they exhibit the fracture of genuine coal. At the upper bend of the semicircle of the Derwent, the bitumenization has advanced farther; jet, of the finest grain and lustre, has been found passing from the common wood-coal, with an even or vitreous fracture, into a phase, presenting a perfect conchoidal fracture, in which it might be cut into necklaces, brooches, and other ornaments. The Derwent wood-coal burns with a strong, unpleasant smell, but is admirably adapted for the preparation of gas. In the coal found at Port Arthur, the greater portion of the bitumen is driven off by volcanic heat, while the sulphurous portion, in rising through the superincumbent strata of sandstone, &c., combines with the iron, forming the whitish metallic layers of pyrites, often mistaken for copper or silver. The Port Arthur coal-mines have been worked for some years by the colonial government with convicts; they are now let on lease to a private individual. A shaft has been sunk to a depth of more than 300 feet; and the galleries where the miners work are said to extend over a space of several miles.

Between the sources of the *Macquarie River*, which run to the *Tamar*, and those of the *Jordan River*, which run to the Derwent, there is a salt plain, with three pools or hollows, which are filled with water during the rainy season; but when dried up by evaporation, the soil around them is so strongly impregnated with salt, that a considerable quantity of this indispensable condiment is left on the surface, and collected by the settlers for domestic use. There are several medicinal springs; some fifteen miles west of Circular Head, belong to a class of carbonated waters, and are aperient and tonic.

THE SOIL is very varied; in some places a rich alluvial mould, in others sandy or argillaceous; its fertility is shewn by the excellent crops produced for successive years without manuring the land. A soft clayey

marl has been discovered around Hobart Town during the progress of improvements, exposed at a depth of two or three yards, and has proved very useful as a manure.

CLIMATE. — Allowing for the higher southern latitude, the coldness and humidity attending on its insularity, and direct exposure to the strong winds of the Southern Pacific, the seasons and weather at Van Diemen's Island may be estimated from the data given in the preceding volume respecting Australia.

Generally speaking, throughout the summer months, there are alternate land and sea breezes, every twenty-four hours, the influence of the latter being felt many miles from the shore, and tending greatly to cool the atmosphere, even in the hottest days of summer. The wind blows from the land, from sunset till ten or eleven o'clock the following day; when the sea breeze sets in and continues till evening. The average of the thermometer is about 70°; although there are times when the mercury is subject to sudden elevations, even to 100° to 110°. When this happens, a hot wind blows from the north or north-west, the effects of which sometimes show themselves upon growing crops, by producing blight, and similar injurious consequences; but it seldom lasts long; and the rain, which is almost certain to follow within a few hours, again so cools the atmosphere, that its previous sultriness is little regarded. Thunder storms are seldom experienced; nor are they ever of a violent nature. Even in the height of summer the evenings and nights are generally cool.

September, October, and November are the spring months, when the weather is usually bright and clear, with occasional rain and high winds. The average of the thermometer for these months is from fifty to sixty degrees.

December, January, and February constitute the summer. In general very little rain falls during these three months. The productions of the earth, such as grass, corn, and vegetables, arrive at maturity about *one month* earlier than the same kinds would in England; that is, in December, which answers to the June of the northern hemisphere, products are gathered which, in England, ripen in July.

March, April, and May are the autumnal months, and form by far the pleasantest season. The air is then clear and bright—the sky free from clouds and vapours—the

medium heat of the day is about 65°; and the nights are cool and refreshing.

The winter includes June, July, and August: in the interior, particularly upon high and exposed situations, frosts are sometimes severe, and at times a good deal of snow falls; but it is seldom that the sun so wholly loses its power, as to suffer an appearance of either frost or snow to last throughout the day; and the winter is rather contemplated by the inhabitants, as a season of moderate and genial rain, sufficient to replenish the storehouses of the earth against the ensuing spring, and to facilitate the labours of the husbandman, than as the cold and dismal period of the higher latitudes. The longest day is fifteen hours twelve minutes; the shortest, eight hours forty-eight minutes.

There is a royal observatory at Hobart Town, 42° 52' S., 9^h 50^m E. It is under the directorship of Lieutenant J. H. Kay, R.N., and the observations are registered day and night with great care; from January, to the 1st of October, 1848, they were made hourly, and thence to the 31st

of December, at five periods in the twenty-four hours, viz., at two and six a.m., and at two, six, and ten p.m. The cistern of the standard barometer is 107 feet above the level of the mean tide, causing a depression in the mercurial column of about 0.1. The observatory is unfavourably situated for a correct register of the *absolute* quantity of rain which falls in any year; *relatively* one year with another there is no doubt of the accuracy of the register, as the reservoir which receives the rain is emptied every morning at nine o'clock, and by a self-acting syphon besides, whenever the quantity which falls exceeds the twenty-fifth part of an inch. The effect of evaporation is therefore inappreciable, as the pencil of the register marks the quantity as it falls. The area of the funnel which collects the rain is 200 square inches, and as the reservoir contains fifty cubic inches, each time it is full, 0.25 of an inch of rain has fallen on that area. With these explanatory remarks I give the following meteorological table for Hobart Town during the year 1848:—

Months.	Barometer.		Fahrenheit's Thermometer.		Mean.		Quantity of Rain, in inches.	Usual No. of Wet Days.	Mean Temp. of the Air for 3 years.
	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Barom.	Therm.			
January . . .	30.166	28.952	82.7	43.0	29.737	60.2	1.03	10	61.2
February . . .	30.276	29.477	81.0	42.7	29.950	59.3	0.80	7	59.7
March	30.212	29.218	81.0	47.3	29.743	59.6	1.16	6	58.5
April	30.373	29.173	77.2	39.6	29.790	56.9	0.54	5	54.5
May	30.184	29.180	67.0	34.2	29.740	49.1	4.34	12	48.3
June	30.402	29.392	59.0	34.7	29.041	45.8	1.08	11	44.9
July	30.370	29.407	54.3	31.3	30.004	42.8	2.49	15	43.2
August	30.297	28.760	57.8	35.3	29.722	45.3	2.66	10	45.8
September . . .	30.242	28.596	72.0	36.2	29.549	48.6	1.91	11	49.8
October	30.226	29.051	72.0	39.0	29.698	50.4	1.61	14	52.2
November . . .	29.938	28.938	74.7	40.0	29.442	53.3	3.83	11	55.6
December . . .	30.110	28.869	86.6	39.8	29.550	56.7	2.22	10	60.8

The mean for the year 1848 was—barometer, 29.739; thermometer, 52.3; rain 23.67 inches. The average number of rainy days is in a dry year 100, and in a wet year 120 days. The hot winds during 1848 were rare and of moderate character, occurring on January 3rd, February 12th, March 30th, and April 5th; that on February 12th was most marked, the thermometer being 91° in the shade. None occurred in the latter part of the year. There was but little rain until the month of May, when upwards of two inches fell between the 6th and 7th of that month. June and July were fine, August wet; the spring months of September and October were fine, November and

December severe—constant gales with wet cold weather. In December the thermometer was several times as low as 43°, with snow in quantity on Mount Wellington. The westerly winds include six-tenths of all the winds that blow during the year. The aurora-Australis was not so brilliant in 1848 as in 1847. Its most brilliant appearance was on the 25th of March. On October 18th and November 17th, when it was very remarkable in Europe, it was very indistinctly seen in Van Diemen's Island, probably from the cloudy state of the weather.

A comparison of the quantity of rain which has fallen annually for seven years at

58 QUANTITY OF RAIN IN HOBART TOWN AND IN LAUNCESTON.

Hobart Town shews that there are alternate wet and dry seasons ; thus in—

Year.	Inches.	Year.	Inches.	Year.	Inches.
1842	22.84	1845	15.89	1848	23.67
1843	18.20	1846	22.58	1849	—
1844	24.00	1847	14.02	1850	—

The average of the seven years is upwards of twenty inches, or about the same quantity which falls in London annually.

The climate of that portion of this large island which is open to the Southern Pacific Ocean, necessarily varies in some degree from the coast line opposite to Bass Strait. I therefore give the following abstracts of

meteorological observations at Launceston during the year 1848 :—

Months.	Barometer, at 9 A.M. and 3 P.M.		Thermometer, Extreme Range.	
	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.
January . . .	30.327	29.381	88	47
February . . .	30.428	29.612	88	45
March . . .	30.307	29.241	74	43
April . . .	30.478	29.507	69	40
May . . .	30.897	29.405	60	30
June . . .	30.510	29.609	55	30
July . . .	30.405	29.640	53	27.5
August . . .	30.342	29.320	56	30
September . .	30.301	28.984	68	32
October . . .	30.320	29.327	68	37
November . .	30.037	29.025	71	36
December . .	30.228	29.145	76	41

Direction of Winds and Quantity of Rain at Launceston during the year 1848.

Months.	N.		S.		E.		W.		N.E.		S.E.		N.W.		S.W.		Calm.		Quantity of Rain in each month.
	9	3	9	3	9	3	9	3	9	3	9	3	9	3	9	3	9	3	
	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	
January . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	23	10	8	8	—	2.340
February . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	14	12	14	14	1	.727
March . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	13	21	4	5	13	3	2.211
April . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	16	19	3	8	10	3	.852
May . . .	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	3	2	6	14	4	9	16	6	5.427
June . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	6	9	4	11	20	9	2.268
July . . .	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	2	10	5	9	5	6	17	5	2.790
August . . .	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	11	7	12	1	3	23	3	3.288
September . .	2	—	1	—	—	1	1	4	—	—	3	4	9	11	1	8	13	2	4.039
October . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	3	3	7	23	1	4	20	—	4.284
November . .	2	2	—	1	1	—	1	5	—	—	1	2	18	14	—	5	7	1	4.508
December . .	3	1	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	16	22	6	5	4	1	2.681
Total . . .	7	3	2	4	2	2	5	10	1	1	14	35	119	191	51	86	165	34	35.415

Strzelecki says truly that "the soils, the vegetation, and the diaphaniety of the atmosphere possess as great an influence upon the hygrometrical condition of the Australian colonies as that which they so beneficially exercise on the effects of solar heat." Thus in Van Diemen's Island soils formed by the disintegration of greenstones, basalt, and trachyte, give rise to a vegetation characterized by lofty trees, ferns, close-tufted graminæ and mosses, which contribute to prevent the rain-water imbibed by the soil from evaporation; the same vegetation screens the earth from the great absorption of solar heat, and also impedes the terrestrial emission of heat, by which means the temperature of the ambient air is lowered to such a degree as to produce, whenever the atmosphere is clear, a copious condensation of the floating vapours, either in showers, or in the form of dew, if no unfavourable circumstances interfere to prevent its deposition.

DISEASES.—The prevailing maladies will

be seen from the following return of the number of cases treated at her Majesty's colonial hospitals in Van Diemen's Island; also the number of deaths which occurred there during the year 1848 :—

Diseases.	Cases treated.	Deaths.
Fevers	201	8
Diseases of the lungs . . .	357	47
" liver	31	6
" stomach and bowels . .	256	25
" brain	226	23
Dropsies	14	5
Rheumatic affections . . .	287	2
Veneral affections	230	1
Abscesses and ulcers	439	6
Wounds and injuries	279	8
Diseases of the eyes	553	—
" skin	41	—
Other diseases	561	35
Total	3,475	166

It must be remembered that this return includes principally the convict population, and the most ill-conditioned of about 25,000

people, who are admissible into the colonial hospitals. The proportion of acute diseases is very small, and the mortality on the whole of the cases treated, which must include many persons advanced in years, is only about five per cent. This is a convincing proof of the salubrity of the climate, on which further evidence will be adduced

when treating of the births and deaths in the colony. Invalids from India have benefited by wintering at Van Diemen's Island. Number of insane persons in lunatic asylum at New Norfolk, on 1st January, 1849:—free, males, 37; females, 22 = 59: convicts, males, 75; females, 45 = 120 = 179: in 1848, discharged cured, 20; deaths, 20.

CHAPTER IV.

POPULATION, FREE AND BOND—PROGRESSIVE INCREASE—MARRIED AND SINGLE—BIRTHS AND DEATHS—RELATIVE AGES AND OCCUPATIONS—RELIGION—BENEVOLENT AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS—EDUCATION—THE PRESS—CRIME, AMONG FREE AND BOND.

VAN DIEMEN'S ISLAND, when discovered, was peopled by an aboriginal race, now nearly if not entirely extinct, as stated in the historical chapter. In examining the progress of European population since the formation of the settlement, in 1803-4, I shall endeavour to distinguish the relative number of free and of convict inhabitants; the latter are, however, annually merging into the former, by termination of servitude or by pardon.

The following table presents, at one view, the state of population in Van Diemen's Island, distinguishing the free from the bond, between 1804 and 1847, the date of the last census. Until 1832-3, the number of the aborigines is estimated. No census was taken between 1842 and 1847; and for several years I am not enabled to give the consecutive columns complete. The population, however, is now about 80,000:—

Year.	Free.			Convicts.			Military and Children.		Aborigines.		Total		Grand Total.
	Males.	Fem.	Total.	Males.	Fem.	Total.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	
1804	68	10	78	360	40	400	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1816	—	—	1,269	—	—	629	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1822	2,209	1,407	3,616	4,548	348	4,996	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1824	3,781	2,248	6,029	5,467	471	5,938	266	70	180	160	9,694	2,949	12,643
1825	4,297	2,462	6,759	6,244	601	6,845	438	150	170	150	11,149	3,363	14,512
1826	4,810	2,600	7,410	6,051	711	6,762	640	180	170	150	11,671	3,641	15,312
1827	5,613	2,910	8,523	6,373	887	7,260	800	250	160	140	12,946	4,187	17,133
1828	6,419	3,056	9,465	6,724	725	7,449	904	300	150	130	14,197	4,211	18,408
1829	6,929	3,492	10,421	7,334	1,150	8,484	880	230	130	125	15,273	4,992	20,265
1830	8,351	4,623	12,974	8,877	1,318	10,195	880	230	120	100	18,228	6,276	24,504
1831	8,392	4,952	13,344	10,391	1,627	12,018	1,032	246	100	90	19,915	6,915	26,830
1832	9,202	5,865	15,067	11,062	1,644	12,706	905	225	91	85	21,260	7,819	29,079
1833	11,020	7,194	18,214	13,126	1,864	14,990	877	247	62	60	25,085	9,365	34,450
1834	12,524	8,560	21,084	13,664	1,874	15,538	789	277	52	59	27,029	10,770	37,799
1835	12,940	9,051	21,991	14,914	2,054	16,968	895	318	52	59	28,081	11,482	40,283
1836	15,593	10,321	25,914	15,590	2,071	17,611	900	300	52	59	31,135	1,275	43,886
1839	—	—	27,044	—	—	17,077	1,249	—	—	—	—	—	44,121
1840	—	—	28,294	—	—	17,763	999	—	—	—	—	—	46,057
1841	—	—	35,108	—	—	16,391	1,234	—	—	—	—	—	51,499
1842	—	—	38,570	—	—	20,332	1,431	—	—	—	—	—	58,902
1847	25,361	18,311	43,672	20,687	3,501	24,188	1,765	481	15	23	47,828	22,336	70,164
1848	—	—	46,282	24,494	3,965	28,459	—	—	—	—	—	—	74,741

The latest census of Van Diemen's Island was taken on the 31st of December, 1847; and the following statement shews the distribution of the population over the island,

the sexes, relative ages, free or bond, single or married, born in the colony or arrived free, &c.; also the number and description of houses:—

Return of the Population, showing the Sex, Age, and whether Married or Single, on 31st December, 1847.

Police District.	Under 7 years.	7 and under 14.	14 and under 21.	21 and under 45.	45 and up-wards.	Under 7 years.	7 and under 14.	14 and under 21.	21 and under 45.	45 and up-wards.	Married.	Single.	Married.	Single.
	Males.	Males.	Males.	Males.	Males.	Fem.	Fem.	Fem.	Fem.	Fem.	Males	Males	Fem.	Fem.
Bothwell . . .	67	43	41	455	90	71	40	28	93	45	124	572	111	166
Brighton . . .	180	114	90	1,035	270	189	139	96	289	90	331	1,358	312	491
Campbell Town .	152	92	82	1,032	138	166	76	55	251	66	275	1,321	261	350
Fingal . . .	81	33	19	501	72	63	29	33	114	18	108	598	109	148
George Town . .	51	23	15	237	47	57	21	12	68	15	79	294	71	102
Great Swan Port	61	37	26	634	78	66	22	25	94	22	149	687	91	138
Hamilton . . .	87	55	44	749	79	77	57	33	157	24	130	884	129	216
Hobart Town . .	1,991	1,227	814	6,572	1,424	1,982	1,236	1,022	4,334	827	3,243	8,785	3,439	5,962
Horton . . .	68	43	24	334	46	73	41	34	73	10	93	422	90	141
Launceston . . .	958	509	407	3,695	637	1,043	522	362	1,729	238	1,602	4,604	1,605	2,289
Longford . . .	295	160	127	1,752	293	288	170	102	420	83	456	2,171	439	624
Morven . . .	212	116	59	1,217	169	196	106	53	300	51	297	1,476	313	393
New Norfolk . .	166	117	82	974	320	153	87	78	321	86	303	1,356	282	443
Oatlands . . .	88	62	63	896	109	75	66	43	169	24	170	1,048	170	206
Port Sorell . . .	45	28	11	321	45	50	18	11	2	12	84	366	73	90
Richmond . . .	408	351	811	4,166	869	415	248	204	507	180	1,188	5,417	636	978
Sorell and Prosser's Plains	79	26	16	421	65	80	44	19	123	20	117	490	112	158
South Port . . .	45	34	33	322	40	60	30	27	71	16	94	370	92	104
Westbury . . .	144	63	50	879	111	175	78	38	204	24	204	1,043	197	298
Aboriginal Inhabitants	1	1	—	13	—	1	1	—	14	8	12	3	12	11
Total . . .	5,179	3,134	2,804	26,205	5,002	5,231	3,001	2,272	9,493	1,858	9,059	33,265	8,544	13,311

Classified Return of the Free and Bond Population, and the Number and Description of Houses.

Police District.	Free.			Bond.			Free.			Bond.			Houses.	
	Born in colony.	Arrived free.	Other free persons.	Ticket of leave.	Govt employ.	Private employ.	Born in colony.	Arrived free.	Other free persons.	Ticket of leave.	Govt employ.	Private employ.	Brick or stone.	Wood.
	Males.	Males.	Males.	Males.	Males.	Males.	Fem.	Fem.	Fem.	Fem.	Fem.	Fem.	No.	No.
Bothwell . . .	131	87	177	126	27	148	135	78	24	16	—	24	55	100
Brighton . . .	372	203	426	199	62	427	422	199	112	27	3	40	143	235
Campbell Town .	264	214	404	285	46	383	271	160	81	28	2	72	213	106
Fingal . . .	132	72	153	85	26	238	108	67	39	14	2	27	43	77
George Town . .	82	79	109	61	11	31	82	53	21	6	—	6	26	83
Great Swan Port	107	114	110	105	208	192	95	84	21	9	2	18	70	55
Hamilton . . .	186	115	266	142	10	295	178	91	36	10	—	30	73	139
Hobart Town . .	3,405	2,817	2,490	1,107	555	1,654	3,592	2,659	1,151	423	883	693	2,679	1,336
Horton . . .	99	120	147	103	6	40	108	99	12	8	—	5	13	107
Launceston . . .	1,503	1,634	1,377	633	350	709	1,631	1,298	420	205	155	194	763	1,213
Longford . . .	563	341	655	453	22	586	517	305	151	47	—	43	211	271
Morven . . .	354	224	506	337	6	346	341	190	80	39	—	56	94	254
New Norfolk . .	342	194	395	167	235	326	292	186	115	21	45	66	156	177
Oatlands . . .	182	124	283	170	12	447	177	104	61	13	1	20	134	63
Port Sorell . . .	71	66	99	98	12	104	76	53	13	4	1	16	6	—
Richmond . . .	945	542	749	383	3,273	713	785	454	236	66	4	69	111	88
Sorell and Prosser's Plains	96	161	112	54	22	162	98	101	31	12	—	28	166	509
South Port . . .	76	107	80	27	20	154	86	79	25	1	—	5	39	106
Westbury . . .	228	170	294	214	18	323	223	172	58	16	—	26	6	115
Aboriginal Inhabitants	15	—	—	—	—	—	23	—	—	—	—	—	73	190
Total . . .	9,153	7,391	8,832	4,749	4,921	7,278	9,240	6,427	2,687	965	1,098	1,438	4,963	5,224

The manufactories and trades in operation, in the colony of Van Diemen's Island, on the 31st of December, 1848, distinguishing the number of each, as ascertained from returns furnished by the several police magistrates, is thus stated:—Agricultural implement makers, 47; auctioneers, 9; blacksmiths, 125; brewers, 40; butchers, 127; cabinet-makers and turners, 32; candle manufactories, 10; carvers and gilders, 4; che-

mists, 16; coachmakers, 7; cooperages, 17; corn and ship chandlers, 12; dyers, 2; engineers, 7; fellmongers, 17; foundries, 7; furriers, 3; general dealers, 360; grocers, 44; ironmongers, 15; mast and block manufactories, 3; mills, 80; painters and glaziers, 11; pastry-cooks, 29; potteries, 4; printing-offices, 9; publicans, 376; rope-makers, 3; sail-makers, 6; saw-mills, 3; shipwrights and boat-builders, 51; shoemakers, 246;

POPULATION TO EACH SQUARE MILE—SETTLED DISTRICTS. 61

soap-boilers, 2; tailors, 87; tanners, 40; tin-workers, 32; tobaccoists, 11; wine-merchants, 30; woolstaplers, 4.

The official returns to her Majesty's secretary of state, for 1848, includes the following classified account of the population:—

District.	Area in Square Miles.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Population to the Square Mile.	Persons Employed.				Marriages.
						Agriculture.	Mann-facture.	Commerce.	Other-wise.	
Bothwell	468	696	277	973	2	227	61	5	680	12
Brighton	209	1,689	803	2,492	12	878	134	26	1,454	27
Campbell-town . .	770	1,596	614	2,210	2.8	677	187	30	1,316	30
Fingal	2,825	706	257	963	0.3	324	61	10	568	7
George-town . . .	1,238	373	173	546	0.4	91	21	5	439	—
Great Swan Port .	1,058	836	229	1,065	1	274	53	9	729	9
Hamilton	649	1,014	345	1,359	2	434	72	7	846	5
Hobart Town . . .	1,294	12,028	9,401	21,429	16	1,336	2,172	591	17,330	419
Horton	4,021	515	231	746	0.8	291	50	8	397	5
Launceston	684	6,206	3,894	10,100	14.7	926	910	290	7,971	153
Longford	923	2,627	1,063	3,690	4	1,179	228	64	2,219	25
Morven	407	1,773	706	2,479	6	978	105	22	1,374	17
New Norfolk . . .	196	1,659	735	2,384	12	525	180	11	1,668	14
Oatlands	700	1,218	376	1,594	2.2	446	114	22	912	7
Port Sorell	878	450	163	613	.7	228	44	4	337	—
Richmond	240	6,605	1,614	8,219	34	1,931	857	39	5,392	28
Sorell and Prosser's Plains	691	607	270	877	1.2	221	50	5	601	19
South Port	1,820	46	196	660	0.36	114	197	3	346	12
Westbury	893	1,274	495	1,742	1.9	613	88	21	1,020	—
Aborigines	—	15	23	38	—	38	—	—	—	—
Military	—	1,765	481	2,246	—	—	—	—	2,246	—
Convicts on Public Works	—	3,739	—	3,739	—	—	—	—	3,739	—
Total	19,964	47,828	22,336	70,164	—	11,731	5,584	1,172	51,677	799

Deaths during the year, 773; births, 1,653; increase, 880.

The increase, during five years, in the population of the townships, between 1842 and 1847, is shown by a comparison of several of the principal places:—

Townships.	1842.	1847.	Increase.
Hobart Town . . .	14,602	21,429	6,827
Launceston	7,332	10,100	2,768
New Norfolk	1,759	2,384	625
Richmond	4,158	8,219	4,061
Bothwell	958	973	15
Oatlands	1,393	1,594	201
Campbell Town . .	1,832	2,210	378
George Town	544	546	2
Westbury	817	1,742	925
Horton	330	746	416
Brighton	2,129	2,492	363
Morven	1,924	2,479	555
South Port	252	660	408
Hamilton	330	1,359	1,029
Fingal	697	963	266

The classification of free and bond, for 1847, cannot be relied on, in consequence of a clause in the Census Act, which prohibits the enumeration commissioners from asking the *civil* condition of any person. Lieutenant-governor Sir William Denison supposes that many "ticket-of-leave" people

returned themselves as free persons. The Comptroller-general of Convicts makes the "ticket-of-leave" holders from three to four thousand greater in number than the census commissioner: thus the total number of convicts, in 1847, would be 27,476; and of the free (exclusive of the military) 40,432. Of this latter number, Sir William Denison says, in a despatch to Earl Grey, dated the 20th of January, 1849, "only 32,211 are really free; the remainder consists of those who have been convicts, and have obtained their freedom by servitude; and many of them are only conditionally pardoned persons."

This observation is incorrect: those who have committed crimes, and suffered the punishment prescribed by law, are "really free;" they are under no legal ban; and may go where they please. Persons who have obtained "conditional pardons," for their good conduct, are free, to all intents and purposes, although they may not be permitted to return to the United Kingdom.

The increase of the whole population, between 1842 and 1847, was from 58,902 to 70,164; about eighteen per cent. for five years, or four per cent. per annum. Among

the free population, the increase is about five per cent.

When we consider that about 58,000 convicts have been sent to Van Diemen's Island between the years 1803 and 1847, it is surprising that the population is not now larger. The colonists, who are opposed to the continuance of transportation to Van Diemen's Island, assert that there has been a large emigration from the island; they estimate the numbers who have quitted it since 1841 at 12,000. Doubtless the temptation of higher wages in the Australian colonies has induced many to pass from Hobart Town and Launceston, to Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, and New Zealand; and lately a large number have gone to California. The governor, in a despatch to Earl Grey, of the 3rd of June, 1848, says—"Since April, 1846, there has been an emigration from the colony to the extent of 10,012, all of whom must have been free; though a large proportion, amounting perhaps to half of the whole, have been originally convicts;" and he adds—"The census of December, 1847, compared with 1842, shewed an increase from 57,471 to 67,918; an increase, in five years, of eighteen per cent." The lieutenant-governor, however, omitted to state, that during this period, *i.e.* for the five years ending 31st December, 1847, there arrived in the colony 10,781 male, and 2,904 female prisoners.

Between 1842 and 1847, there arrived free in the colony, males, 715; females, 505 = 1,220. Born in the colony, males, 3,317; females, 3,325 = 6,642.

In 1848, the number of persons who emigrated from Van Diemen's Island was, 3,799; of whom, 2,400 were free persons, 978 persons who have served out their sentence of banishment, and 421 persons holding conditional pardons.* Of the emigrants, 2,797 went to Port Phillip, 280 to Sydney, 415 to Adelaide, and 307 to other places. The arrivals during the same year were, in number, 4,410; of whom, the free people, including troops, were, men, 2,074; women, 491; children, 385; convicts—men, 925; women, 509; children, 26—total men, 2,999; women, 1,000; children, 411. From Sydney there came, 1,014; Port Phillip, 258; Adelaide, 217; New Zealand,

* Thus the merciful policy pursued by her Majesty's government, enables those who have received conditional pardons to seek an honest livelihood in other lands, far away from the scenes of their crime and of their punishment.

60; Portland Bay, Port Fairy, and Port Albert, 255.

The free and convict immigrants from other places were:—

Countries.	Free.			Convict.		
	Males.	Fem.	Child.	Males.	Fem.	Child.
England . . .	197	72	40	438	339	26
Ireland . . .	1	3	7	—	170	—
Bermuda . . .	52	4	4	202	—	—
Gibraltar . . .	54	6	6	240	—	—
India . . .	25	5	8	32	—	—

It is against the transmission of convicts from Bermuda, Gibraltar, India, and other places, that the Tasmanian colonists have more especially petitioned the Queen, as stated in the historical chapter.

That the population has largely increased from births, is indubitable. The years for which I have returns of the registered number of births and deaths prove this.

Years.	Births.	Deaths.
1824	177	132
1828	309	250
1829	301	260
1830	460	270
1831	422	282
1833	455	379
1834	714	557
1835	730	525
1848	1,653	773

We may assume other years to bear a like proportion.

The births and deaths (of free persons) registered during 1848, exclusive of Great Swan Port District, were:—

Sex.	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.
Males	858	463	395
Females	795	310	485
Total	1,653	773	880

The deaths of convicts recorded in the Comptroller-general's department in 1848, were in number 244, shewing a total of deaths in the colony of 1,017, against 1,653 registered births; a net increase of 636. The increase of males and females in the whole population, between 1842 and 1847, has been about—males 17, and females 23 per cent; among the free population solely, 15 and 21. The proportion of married to single is, about 30 married to 100 single; not taking into account the military, or convicts at punishment stations. In 1847 there were 862 marriages, about one per cent. of the whole population.

The registered deaths of *free* males and females during 1848, between 1 and 95 years of age, is thus shewn:—

Years of Age.	Males.	Females.
1 and under 2	23	25
2 " " 3	15	15
3 " " 4	6	7
4 " " 5	5	9
5 " " 10	12	8
10 " " 15	10	6
15 " " 20	9	7
20 " " 25	16	15
25 " " 30	12	17
30 " " 35	23	22
35 " " 40	22	18
40 " " 45	27	12
45 " " 50	27	10
50 " " 55	42	18
55 " " 60	17	10
60 " " 65	12	7
65 " " 70	14	2
70 " " 75	14	5
75 " " 80	17	1
80 " " 85	4	—
85 " " 90	6	—
90 " " 95	1	—

One hundred and twelve male and 89 female children died under the age of one year, and 17 males and 7 females had not their ages registered. The number of children dying under one year old, is in the proportion of 10 males to 7 females. It is nearly in the same proportion between one and five years old.

The relative numbers of registered births and deaths, during the quarters of 1848 ending March, June, September, and 31st December, were:—

Quarters ending	Births.		Deaths.	
	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.
March	187	155	108	94
June	223	209	103	82
September	252	220	104	62
December	216	211	148	72
Total	858	795	463	310

It will be seen from the above, that the greater number of births were in the September or spring quarter, and of deaths in the December or summer quarter. The proportion of deaths generally, is about 1·3 per cent. of males, to 1·5 per cent. of females. The proportion of males to females in the whole population, in 1847, was 100 males to 47 females; this is attributable to the large number of male convicts. Among the free inhabitants, the proportion is, 100 males to 72 females.

The ages of the white inhabitants, excepting the troops, and the convicts at punishment stations, were, on 31st December, 1847—

Years of Age.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Under 2	1,790	1,788	3,578
2 and under 7	3,388	3,443	6,831
7 " " 14	3,133	3,000	6,133
14 " " 21	2,804	2,272	5,076
21 " " 45	26,192	9,479	35,671
45 " " 60	4,078	1,526	5,604
60 and upwards	924	324	1,248
Total	42,309	21,832	64,141

The occupations of the colonists are thus classified for the years 1842 and 1847:—

Occupations.	1842.	1847.
Landed proprietors, bankers, merchants, and professional men	1,846	1,502
Shopkeepers and other retail dealers	802	1,172
Mechanics and artificers	3,720	5,584
Shepherds and others in charge of sheep	879	1,098
Gardeners, stockmen, and farm labourers	9,870	11,693
Domestic servants	3,477	4,839
Other persons not included in the above	27,067	38,291
Military, with their families	—	2,246
Convicts at punishment stations	—	3,739
Total	47,661	70,164

STATE OF RELIGION.—This essential part of abiding civilization was neglected in the settlement of Van Diemen's Island, as in that of New South Wales. Lieutenant-governor Arthur was the first person who endeavoured to remedy the defect; and in this course he was zealously supported by the Legislative Council of the colony, who, on 11th October, 1833, advised that six additional chaplains should be appointed; that additions should be made to the salaries of the presbyterian minister for Hobart Town, and of the Roman catholic priest, and a salary of £100 per annum be granted to a presbyterian minister at Launceston. Archdeacon Scott and Archdeacon (now Bishop) Broughton, of New South Wales, to whom the spiritual care of Van Diemen's Island was then entrusted, pressed (and for some time in vain) this vital subject on the home authorities.

It is distressing to read the following passages, which I have extracted from the despatches of Lieutenant-governor Arthur, Sir John Franklin, and others. Thus, on the

14th October, 1833, Colonel Arthur writes to Mr. Secretary Stanley—

"I have frequently urged upon his Majesty's government the necessity of augmenting the number of chaplains, and I feel I should ill discharge the highest and most important duty I have to perform, were I to neglect on this occasion to second most earnestly the advice of the council. Sir, I pointed out several years ago, as forcibly as I had the power to put it, that *penitentiaries, tread-wheels, flogging, chain-gangs and penal settlements would all prove ineffectual either to prevent or punish crime without religious or moral instruction; there must be a mind to work upon, or all punishment will be utterly unavailing.*

"I entreat I may be permitted again to urge the paramount importance of this point, and, if it be ceded, I importune you no less to cause clergymen to be selected who are devoted to their calling; men of education and mildness, as well as of decided piety. A dignitary of the church holding the office of arch-deacon, upon a most moderate salary, should be placed over the spiritual and temporal concerns of the established church."

Again, on 16th May, 1834, the lieutenant-governor repeats his representations to Mr. Secretary Stanley; I give them in full, because it shews that the colonists were far from being the demoralized class which Archbishop Whateley and other good men erroneously supposed:—

"I had the honour in my despatch of 14th October 1833, accompanying the estimates for 1834, to lay before you an expression of the earnest desire which is entertained by the legislative council, and by the community generally, for an extension of the church establishment, so that the ordinances of religion may be placed within the reach of the more remote settlers, and also be brought home to the convicts labouring on the roads and in the chain-gangs.

"I submit, that *in no part of the world are the influence and teaching of the divine and the exertions of the schoolmaster so essential as in Van Diemen's Land, where, in addition to the usual incentives to evil which under every climate and in all situations tend to degrade and demoralise the human mind, there is to be combated that propensity to the commission of crime which is an almost necessary consequence of the habitual indulgence in vice to which a large portion of the convicts have been addicted previous to their transportation.*

"While the government coerces these men, while it strives to prevent by the fear of punishment or the promise of reward the actual perpetration of crimes, it is evidently essential to supply them, by the assiduous teaching of properly qualified men, with new motives of action, and to raise up within their minds a power of self-control to prepare them on recovering their liberty for such an enjoyment of it as may not be incompatible with the comfort or safety of others.

"It is therefore with much earnestness that I again recommend for your favourable consideration the suggestions contained in the communications from time to time addressed to me by the successive arch-deacons of New South Wales, after they had in the course of their visitations obtained ocular evidence of the wants of the several districts, and witnessed the desire of the settlers for the plantation amongst

them of churches under the care of pious well-educated clergymen.

"With a view to the erection of these, I have already had the pleasure of informing you that the inhabitants of several districts in the interior have raised very liberal subscriptions, upon the understanding, that in accordance with Sir George Murray's instructions of 1829, the government would assist them with sums equal to those provided by themselves; and, as I have had the honour of reporting in my despatch of the 14th October last, the legislative council unanimously voted the necessary advances, which will shortly be applied in the contemplated buildings, one of which is in progress, and the others are on the eve of being commenced."

On 15th April, 1841, Sir John Franklin, then Lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Island, wrote to Lord Stanley thus:—

"I must now again advert to the *great want* of religious instruction for the large bodies of convicts now under the superintendence of the local government, and to the absolute necessity of steps being taken to send out two pious and practical ministers, whose hearts are in the cause."

These representations, effectively supported by Bishop Broughton, have now produced the most beneficial effect, and her Majesty's government have cordially aided the efforts of the colonists and of the Church Missionary and the Christian Knowledge Society, for the extension of the ordinances of religion to every class of the community.

In 1824, there were in the colony only two church of England establishments, one presbyterian and one Roman catholic; in 1830, the number of churches of England was increased to seven; in 1833, to nine, and in 1835, to twelve.

In 1836, there were two churches of the established religion in Hobart Town, and a presbyterian and a Roman catholic chapel; in Launceston, one church and one presbyterian chapel; at Elizabeth Town, New Norfolk, and at Richmond, Sorell, Clarence, Campbell Town and Norfolk Plains, there was in each place a church, and one was erecting at Ross. The ministers of the established church then consisted of a rural dean, one senior and seven rural chaplains, three presbyterian ministers, one Wesleyan, one independent, and one Roman catholic priest, all paid by government.

In 1842, (24th August) an excellent divine, the Right Reverend Dr. Nixon, whose comprehensive work on the *Catechism of the Church of England* indicated his peculiar fitness for the spiritual office, was consecrated Bishop of Tasmania. In 1843 (27th July), the venerable F. A. Marriott was inducted as Archdeacon of Hobart Town.

The number of temples dedicated to the worship of God in 1848, was, according to

the certificates of the heads of the several denominations,—

Denominations.	No. of places of worship.	No. of sittings.	Average attendance.	Expense borne by	
				Co-lony.	British Treas.
Church of England— Archdeaconry of Hobart	34	13,200	4,940	9,301	£5,086
Rural Deanery of Longford	19				
Church of Scotland	13	3,420	2,710	2,936	—
„ Rome	3	580	1,600	1,220	2,056
Wesleyan Methodists	21	4,500	4,000	500	—
Independents	15	3,480	—	—	—
Baptists	3	400	270	150	—
Jews	2	268	90	—	—
Total	110	25,875	13,610	14,107	7,142

Note.—Pew-rents, as stated by clergymen, £797; Offer-tory fund, £759; from church endowment fund, £954.

A classification of the religious denominations, shews their relative numbers in 1835, 1842, and 1847, exclusive of the troops and convicts at punishment stations—

Denominations.	1835.	1842.	1847.	Relative proportion in 1847.
Church of England	15,228	32,656	44,490	.69
„ Scotland	2,352	3,619	4,552	.97
Wesleyans	1,399	1,944	2,566	.94
Other protestant dissenters	713	1,650	2,186	.93
Total protestants	19,692	39,869	53,794	.83
Church of Rome	1,833	3,931	9,904	.15
Total Christians	21,525	43,800	63,698	—
Jews	124	259	452	.006
Mahomedans and Pagans	—	60	29	—
Totals	21,649	44,119	64,179	—

Return of the Emoluments of the Ministers of Religion of the several denominations of Christians paid from the Colonial Treasury.

Denominations.	Lord Bishops.		Colonial Chaplains.									Totals.
	£1,091	£591	£495	£355	£345	£330	£310	£295	£275	£245	£230	
Church of England	1	—	—	1	2	1	1	1	13	9	1	30
Church of Scotland	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	6	1	1	10
Church of Rome	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	4
Wesleyan Methodists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Baptists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Independents	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	21	10	3	44

Return of the Emoluments of the Ministers of Religion of the different denominations of Christians paid by the Home Government, and those receiving no Stipend from Government.

Denominations.	Chaplains and Religious Instructors to Convicts.							Missionary Chaplains.			Clergy paid from other sources.	Total.
	£286	£266	£250	£236	£230	£210	£150	£336	£286	£236		
Church of England	6	—	1	4	—	1	1	2	2	2	6	25
Church of Scotland	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Church of Rome	—	6	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	3	11
Wesleyan Methodists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	7
Baptists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Independents	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	6
Totals	6	6	1	4	2	1	1	2	2	2	26	53

Note.—The total number of clergymen of all denominations is 97. There is no account of the income of the clergymen paid from other sources. The colonial treasury is charged with £500 a year towards the support of Wesleyan Clergymen, and £150 a year for a Baptist Missionary. To nearly all the chaplaincies glebes and residences are attached.

The number of ministers of religion in 1848, was—the *Church of England Establishment*, a Bishopric of Tasmania; an *Archdeaconry* of Hobart Town district, with thirty-two clergymen, of whom fourteen belong to the town itself; and a *Rural Deanery* of Longford, with fifteen clergymen: the incomes vary from £120 to £500 a-year, with, generally speaking, parsonage-houses.

The *Church of Scotland*, eleven ministers, with incomes of from £266 to £486 per

annum, paid from the colonial treasury, and two missionaries, who visit the different out-stations.

The *Wesleyan Methodist Congregations*, seven ministers, with incomes from £100 to £300.

The *Independent Congregations*, seven ordained clergymen, with £100 to £300, with residences.

The *Roman Catholic Church*, under the control of a bishop and three clergymen.

Eight clergymen are attached to the convict department at Hobart Town, Oatlands, Maria Island, Port Arthur, South Port, and the coal mines, but they are permitted to attend other members of their respective churches in their several localities.

The amount paid to each class in 1840, is in gratifying contrast to the past state of religion in this colony; it cannot be said that the people are neglectful of providing the means for the due fulfilment of the holy ordinances to which they are attached.

The amount appropriated for religion from the colonial and home treasury is about £22,000 a-year; but the lieutenant-governor, in a despatch to her Majesty's Secretary of State, dated 3rd June, 1848, says, "although the amount expended, when taken in consideration with the number of the people, may seem to be large, yet, when compared with the wants of the community, originating in their peculiar position, and their character and habits, it is not nearly sufficient for their wants." By the act, 13 & 14 Vic. c. 59 (A. D. 1850), which provides for the formation of a representative government in Van Diemen's Island, it is enacted, that after the establishment of a Legislative Council, a sum of not less than £15,000 shall be annually set apart for the purposes of religion. This sum nearly corresponds with the amount paid from the colonial treasury in 1848, viz., £14,107.

Up to September, 1848, the colonists have erected, without any aid from the revenue of the colony, no less than twenty buildings for the performance of divine service; and private liberality has been exercised to the extent of no less than £36,000, as endowments in land and money, as shewn in a letter from the Bishop of Tasmania, dated 7th September, 1848:—

"Sums subscribed for investments, or expended for church purposes, and value of land given.—Bishop'sbourne estate.—Endowments for the bishopric, £5,000; Ripon Missionary Fund (including recent subscriptions in England, £10,000; archdeacon's endowment, £1,500; Paling's farm (valued at), £1,000; Moat farm, £600; allotments purchased and given, £280; land at Hagley, £120; land at Bruin, land at Cullenwood, not known; College estate, £9,000; estimated value of the farm given to the college, £9,000; Grammar-school at Launceston, £700; Hutchin's school (pledged), £2,000; expended in erecting churches, chapels, and school-rooms, £2,436; recent subscriptions to Trinity Church, Hobart Town, £1,000; grant from Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, on churches and schools, £500; total, £36,136.

"This does not include the large sums expended on

the several churches in the colony, more especially Trinity, Hobart Town; Trinity, Launceston; and Longford: for which three churches alone, many thousand pounds have been subscribed, nor does it include the sums granted for church purposes by the local branch of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in Hobart Town.

"The rural dean of Longford has also sent a report of £1,148, (including pew-rents and the offertory), contributed by the members of the Church of England, in the northern division of the diocese during the year 1847, for church and educational purposes, and for the poor.

"It will be seen from this abstract, that 20 buildings have been erected, at the sole cost of the members of the Church of England, where divine service may be performed. For the most part they are in places where no great amount of aid could be expected from the inhabitants."

In addition to this, the bishop says, "latterly we have ensured the services of four additional clergymen, and one catechist for the missionary work of the church.

"With reference to our present and future means, I am prepared to say, that we can furnish a sum of £1,000 per annum, for the promotion of religious knowledge amongst the members of the Church of England in the colony.

"Assuming, then, that the home government does not consider their contribution of £1,200 for the salaries, and £540 for the allowances of the missionaries as too much in consideration of the fearful amount of spiritual wickedness poured in upon us, our own contributions will complete a sum of at least £2,740, as available for the purposes of religious instruction, exclusive of the grants for the same purposes from the colonial treasury.—F. R. TASMANIA."

The Rev. H. P. Fry, A. B., rector of the parish of St. George, Hobart Town, who has resided ten years in the colony, and evidently taken extraordinary pains to make himself acquainted with the actual condition of the convicts, says, in his recent instructive work on *Penal Discipline*, "in no community is religion, in its most spiritual influences, more widely and deeply diffused; in none, is education more generally advocated and afforded: the future prospects of Van Diemen's Island are, therefore, in the highest degree encouraging." And in another place, the reverend gentleman says—

"The incitement to industry and exertion—the profitable field for the human energies—the inducements to marriage, from the advantage of a large family, all the members of which may obtain profitable occupation—the advancement of condition of life, and the abundance and cheapness of provisions, have a powerful influence in directing the minds, and forming the habits of the colonists to industry, rewarded by so many advantages, and withdrawing them from idleness and vice, the evil effects of which are more apparent, and greater in a small community. These natural advantages have withstood the inundations of vice, and enabled the free colonists to maintain the principles and establish the habits of a moral community. If transportation were discontinued, and the colonists, under a free government,

were allowed to exercise their own intelligence, and develop the resources of their country, the stains and evils of having been the receptacle of criminals would speedily disappear."—(p. 205.)

The religious and charitable institutions are numerous, and I can only enumerate them. For *religious improvement* there is the Hobart Town branch of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and for the Propagation of the Gospel; this branch has district associations in different parts of the island; a branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Van Diemen's Land Auxiliary Bible Society, Wesleyan Tract Society, London Missionary Society branch, Van Diemen's Land Colonial Missionary and Christian Instruction Society, and others. Of *charitable institutions* there are St. Mary's Hospital, Hobart Town, opened in January, 1841, on the self-supporting principle, for all classes of society; St. John's Hospital, Launceston, opened 1st September, 1845; St. Paul's Hospital, Circular Head; General Dispensary and Humane Society, Hobart Town; Lying-in Charities, termed the *Dorcas Societies*, at Hobart Town and at Launceston. The Tasmanian Hebrew Benevolent Institution, the Wesleyan Strangers' Friend Society, the Van Diemen's Land Society, for the protection of destitute and unfortunate females, and other truly Christian institutions.

Among the other institutions of the colony, I may mention the Hibernian Benefit Society, established at Hobart Town in September, 1848; the St. Patrick's Benefit Society, established at Launceston in October, 1848; the Launceston Printers' Benefit Society, established in October, 1849; all for the purpose of allowing pecuniary assistance to such members as may need aid, owing to sickness, death of relatives, or other misfortune. There are several *total abstinence* and *teetotal* societies, with branches, for the promotion of temperance. The Juvenile Total-abstinence Society has upwards of 500 members; the Roman Catholic Total-abstinence Society, established in 1846, has 3,800 members; the Van Diemen's Island Total-abstinence Society, established in 1846, has 2,000 members; the Hobart Town Total-abstinence Society, and the Tasmanian Teetotal Society, established in 1842, have each a large number of members. The Hobart Town Mercantile Assistants' Association was formed in February, 1847, for the mutual instruction of the members in the various branches of literature, science, and useful knowledge: it has already a

library of 600 volumes. The Hobart Town Choral Society was established in 1843, for the purpose of cultivating the study and practice of music, and for imparting a knowledge of the science to the children of its members. There are five masonic lodges, and a Tasmanian Masonic Benevolent Fund, established in 1843, for affording relief and assistance to aged and distressed freemasons, their wives, and orphans. There are four Oddfellows' lodges, to assist widows and orphans of deceased brothers, and make allowance to members during illness. For the same laudable objects, there are two lodges of the Independent Order of Rechabites. A Tasmanian Turf Club was formed at Hobart Town in March, 1847; and a United Service Club, open to all officers of both services, has been established at Launceston. It holds general meetings on the anniversaries of the battles of Trafalgar and of Waterloo. There are two Licensed Victuallers' societies, one at Hobart Town, and one at Launceston, established for the same excellent objects as the great Licensed Victuallers' Society of London. Did space permit, I might quote other proofs of the practical benevolence and advanced social state of our fellow-subjects in Tasmania.

EDUCATION has been for some years a matter of primary consideration with the colonists. There are no records prior to the year 1828; but from thence to 1835 the number of government schools, and their expenditure, was—

Year.	No. of Schools.	Number of Scholars.			Government Expenditure.
		Males.	Females.	Total.	
1828	8	242	177	419	£1,964
1829	9	305	219	524	1,887
1830	11	314	249	553	1,188
1831	15	314	254	568	2,512
1832	16	338	262	600	2,323
1833	19	462	394	856	2,967
1834	24	553	450	1,003	12,844
1835	29	667	510	1,177	7,450

Note.—The government expenditure for the year 1834 includes arrears of the orphan schools which had accumulated from 1827.

In 1836, the local government supported seventeen elementary schools alone, and a male and female orphan school, of which the children were divided into four classes: viz.—first, those who are entirely destitute; second, those who have one parent living; third, those who have both parents living, but totally incompetent to afford them the

means of education; and, fourth, children whose parents are to contribute the moderate sum required for the maintenance and education of children in the king's schools, viz., £12 per annum.

The Queen's orphan schools, at New Town, at the expense of British and colonial funds, contained on the 31st of December, 1848—

Description.	Males.	Fem.	Total.
Children of free parents . . .	39	25	64
" convicts . . .	208	188	396
Total . . .	247	213	460

Note.—Of the children of free persons, there are three male and four female, whose parents are aborigines.

The orphan children of convicts are supported entirely at the expense of the British

government; while those of free persons are charged to the colonial treasury, under the head of "pauperism."

The number remaining on the 31st of December, 1847, was 448, viz.—males 229, females 219. Of these, the children of convicts numbered, males 195, females 193 = 388. The children apprenticed during the year were, males 13, females 19; discharged to friends, males 30, females 33; died during the year, males 5, females 6; received during the year, males 63, females 55 = 118; of whom the offspring of convicts numbered, males 51, females 52.

There is a public board of education, and the number of government schools under its superintendence on the 31st of December, 1848, was, according to the inspector—

Locality of Schools.	No. of Children.			Average attendance.	Annual Cost of each School to Colonial Treasury.		
	Boys.	Girls.	Total.		Salaries.	Rents.	Total.
Back River	22	12	34	30	£100	£40	£140
Bothwell	14	16	30	25	100	36	136
Campbell Town	40	20	60	48	100	35	135
Clarence Plains	33	24	57	48	125	30	155
Glenorchy	27	33	60	45	100	40	140
Green Ponds	30	25	55	35	100	50	150
Hobart Town, Liverpool-street	61	—	61	50	150	40	190
" Campbell-street	83	72	155	110	150	60	210
Launceston	49	22	71	50	120	80	200
Longford	32	21	53	40	100	30	130
New Town	38	23	61	45	100	35	135
New Norfolk	26	25	51	48	100	45	145
Norfolk Plains	7	10	17	12	25	—	25
Oatlands	30	20	50	40	100	40	140
Perth	15	15	30	20	100	35	135
Richmond	14	19	33	50	125	—	125
Sorell	19	18	37	28	100	—	100
Sandy Bay	21	25	46	36	95	50	145
Kangaroo Point	18	14	32	25	100	36	136
Evandale	30	20	50	40	45	—	45
Patterson's Plains	15	6	21	16	18	—	18
Cressy, closed on 8th December, 1848	10	6	16	10	100	25	125
Total	634	446	1,080	851	2,153	707	2,860

Attendance at Infant Schools, December 31, 1848.

Schools.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Colonial aid per annum.
Hobart, Murray-street	55	53	108	} £100
" Liverpool-street	14	16	30	
Launceston	26	30	56	
Total	95	99	194	£150

The Van Diemen's Island Sunday-school Union has 22 stations, 154 teachers, and 1,242 children in attendance. The Wesleyans have 17 Sabbath-schools, 122 teachers, and 1,098 children. There are also

other Sunday-schools. There is a Christian Union School of Industry, and a Ladies' School of Industry, at Launceston.

The number of schools in connection with the churches of England and Rome, aided by contributions from the government on 31st December, 1848, was,—

Denomination.	No. of Schools.	No. of Scholars.			Aid from Col. Treasury.
		Boys.	Girls.	Total.	
Church of England	33	852	639	1,491	£1,198
Church of Rome	4	108	213	321	326
Total	37	960	852	1,812	1,524

These schools have been aided conformable to Mr. Secretary Gladstone's despatch, No. 55, so that parents who might object to the system of instruction in operation at the government schools, might have some opportunity of obtaining instruction for their children, according to the system approved by their own church. Nearly 2,000 children are thus provided with instruction who would otherwise have had none.

Private education is also well promoted. The number of private schools, on 31st October, 1848, in different parts of the island, was,—

Police District.	No. of Schools.	No. of Scholars.		
		Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Bothwell	1	22	10	32
Brighton	4	19	29	48
Campbell Town . .	3	17	43	60
George Town . . .	2	15	14	29
Great Swanport . .	1	—	—	27
Hamilton	2	14	19	33
Hobart Town . . .	42	753	543	1,296
Launceston	25	301	237	541
Longford	5	37	26	63
Morven	2	31	11	42
New Norfolk . . .	3	23	20	43
Richmond	4	40	22	62
Sorell	4	10	22	32
Westbury	2	—	15	15
Total	100	1,285	1,011	2,323

Note.—There is 1 School at Campbell Town and 1 at Richmond, for which there are no returns; and 6 at Hobart Town, and 6 at Launceston, for which there are no returns. In the return for Great Swanport, the sex is not stated.

The number of children in Van Diemen's Island, in December, 1847, under 14 years of age was, males, 8,311, females, 8,261=16,572. It is reasonable to assume that one-third of this number, or about 5,500 are mere infants; about 4,000 are from 12 to 14 years of age, and valuable for assistance to their parents, who can no longer afford to have them at school,—this would leave about 7,000 children for education; in the returns given, we have records of 5,869, being in course of education, and there are no returns from 14 schools, which, at an average of 50 per school, gives a further sum of 700. It is probable, therefore, that altogether, 7,000 children are being educated in Van Diemen's Island, and I cannot, consequently, agree in the opinion expressed by the Lieutenant-governor to Earl Grey, 3rd June, 1848, that "a population is growing up, of whom upwards of two-thirds are receiving no instruction at all."

The principal educational establishment, termed *Christ's College*, was opened at Bishopsbourne, 1st October, 1846. The

visitor is the learned bishop of the diocese, Dr. Nixon; and the warden, sub-warden, and honorary fellows are men who have attained honours in the British universities. There are three divinity-fellowships. The college is endowed with 4,100 acres of land, of which 3,000 are in cultivation. The annual income is £1,200, chiefly designed to form a reserve fund for building. The High School at Hobart Town was established in 1847, with a capital of £5,000, in shares of £25 each; its object is the instruction of youth in the higher branches of learning. Hutchin's School, which has a foundation fund of £1,065, has the same object. Launceston has a Church Grammar School, opened 1st July, 1846, under the management of a committee. There are Mechanics' Institutes at Hobart Town and at Launceston, with reading-rooms, library, museums, and lectures annually. Among the other institutions, I may name the Tasmanian Society of Natural Science, Agriculture, Statistics, &c., established by Sir John Franklin in 1839; the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Island, founded 14th October, 1843—patron, her Majesty the Queen; to develop the physical character of the island, its natural history and productions; the Midland Agricultural Association, established in 1838; the Launceston Horticultural Society; the Gardeners and Amateurs' Horticultural Society, at Hobart Town; the Bothwell Literary Society; the Launceston Library Society, established in 1845, by shares, and other public libraries.

THE PRESS has for many years been very active in Van Diemen's Island, and proved a severe censor of the local government. In 1848, there were in Hobart Town six newspapers, of which four were bi-weekly and two weekly; in Launceston, two bi-weekly, and one monthly.

CRIME.—In an island which has been, since it first became a British possession, a penal settlement—to which nearly 60,000 criminals have been deported, and where the entire free and bond population was by the recent census in December, 1847, little more than 70,000, the records of crime cannot present a fair comparison with other British settlements. It is however asserted, on credible data, that previous to the large influx of convicts, *i.e.* about 1840-1, the proportionate number of criminals among the free population was in a less ratio than in England. Into this question of degree I shall not now enter;

when I come to a general view of the social state of the whole of our colonies, the subject may be relatively considered; for the present my duty is to convey to the public the actual extent of crime in the island.

On examining various returns, the first point which impresses itself on my mind is the fearful extent to which the crime of drunkenness even still exists.

The number of cases of drunkenness of free and bond increased from 433 in the year 1824, to 2,841 in 1832; the proportion in 100 of the total population was in the first year three, in the last nine. During the year 1847 the number of cases of drunkenness brought before the magistrates in the nineteen police districts throughout the whole colony, and also at the penal stations of Port Arthur, Maria Island, &c., was of free men (or calling themselves such), 2,588; of convicts, 2,444 = 5,032. Taking the population in 1847 at 70,000, this would give the proportion of drunkards in each hundred of the inhabitants about seven; so far therefore there is some diminution of this crime between 1832 and 1847. By later accounts, of which I have not the details, it appears that intoxication has materially decreased.

The number of persons taken before magistrates in the nineteen districts of Van Diemen's Land during the year 1848, the nature of the offences with which they were

charged, distinguishing free persons from bond, have been compiled from the weekly returns furnished by each magistrate.

Offences.	Bond.	Free.	Total.
Felony and Larceny	1,227	626	1,853
Absconding	854	54	908
Insubordination	116	1	117
Absence without leave	1,754	28	1,782
Disobedience of orders	585	29	614
Drunkenness	2,288	2,967	5,255
Neglect of duty	345	14	359
Insolence	369	6	375
Idleness	48	27	75
Misdemeanour	2,802	165	2,967
Penal convictions under colonial acts and English statutes	308	2,159	2,467
Assaults	257	345	602
Sureties of the peace, and for good behaviour	4	81	85
Various other charges not under the above heads	2,752	446	3,198
Cases under examination . . .	313	87	400
Total	14,022	7,035	21,057

It must be remembered that many of the offences mentioned in this list would not be deemed such, or at least be considered very venial in an entirely free population.

It is, however, very satisfactory to perceive that, notwithstanding the rapid influx of convicts of late years, crime has not materially increased, except during 1844, '5, and '6, when discipline was relaxed, and the number of robberies increased. I understand that, in 1848-9, there has been a marked decrease in crime of every description. The following is an official return, commencing with 1838:—

Crimes against the Person tried before the Supreme Court.

Description of Crime.	1838.	1839.	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.
Assault, common	10	22	13	12	1	10	16	6	4	—	3	—
" on children	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	2	1	—
" and robbery	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
" with intent to rob	—	—	—	—	—	31	6	—	—	2	3	—
" to ravish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	2	—	—
Burglary, with violence	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	—
Larceny in dwelling, and putting in fear	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	—
Manslaughter	1	1	5	2	5	1	3	1	2	4	3	—
Murder	2	—	4	6	3	4	3	8	1	3	5	—
Perjury	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Robbery	10	4	1	10	17	5	52	28	29	23	4	—
" and beating	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—
" being armed	—	—	—	—	—	—	65	27	25	8	—	—
Rape	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
Shooting, with intent to murder	1	—	—	—	—	—	21	1	—	1	9	—
Stabbing	1	—	—	—	—	—	9	7	8	4	7	—
Wounding	—	—	6	—	4	3	—	—	3	2	—	—
Unnatural crime	—	—	—	—	1	3	—	2	4	—	—	—
Bestiality	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Libel	1	1	—	4	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bigamy	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Concealing birth	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	28	28	31	38	32	58	178	86	80	55	44	—
Total population	45,846	44,111	46,057	51,499	58,902	60,000	62,000	64,000	66,300	70,164	—	—
Number of crimes per cent. of the population . . . . .	.06	.06	.07	.07	.05	.09	.28	.13	.12	.07	—	—
Number of convicts per cent. in whole population . . . .	.40	.38	.38	.31	.34	.30	.35	.35	.36	.34½	—	—

NATURE OF CRIMES BETWEEN 1838 AND 1848, IN V. D. ISLAND. 71

Crimes against Property.

Description of Crime.	1838.	1839.	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849
Arson	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	1	—
Burglary	8	24	22	30	17	18	62	49	25	27	13	—
Cattle, horse, and pig stealing	6	2	3	—	9	4	8	19	5	6	4	—
Coining and uttering coin	—	—	—	—	14	7	11	10	7	2	—	—
Embezzlement and deceit, and obtaining goods falsely	7	4	3	4	6	2	4	1	—	2	1	—
Forgery and uttering forged notes	5	6	14	8	—	—	13	4	15	—	17	—
Larceny	43	149	130	111	95	85	174	134	85	91	—	—
" by servant	7	—	—	—	—	—	5	11	4	4	—	—
" from person	7	—	—	—	—	—	3	10	5	1	33	—
" on a river	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
" in a dwelling, above £5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	—	—
Misdemeanour	—	—	—	—	14	3	1	1	—	—	—	—
Receiving	19	30	27	17	5	11	27	23	13	—	7	—
Stealing in dwelling-house	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—
Ditto, and putting in fear	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	5	—	13	—
Sheep stealing	4	10	6	6	13	4	5	15	6	6	2	—
Unlawfully pawning	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	4	—	—	—
Maliciously wounding cattle	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—
Selling unwholesome meat	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Illegally at large, being armed	2	10	4	—	5	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Felony	13	—	—	—	14	18	—	—	—	—	—	—
Not particularized	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Absconding	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	140	235	209	176	193	154	315	288	175	141	91	—
Total population	45,846	44,111	46,057	51,499	58,902	60,000	62,000	64,000	66,000	70,164	—	—
Number of crimes per cent. of the population . . . . .	.3	.05	.4	.3	.3	.2	.5	.4	.26	.2	—	—
Number of convicts who arrived in the years	2,224	1,441	1,365	3,488	5,520	3,727	4,966	3,357	2,049	1,186	679	—

Convictions for serious offences, in 1848.

Crimes.	Free.		Free by Servitude or Pardon.		Convicts.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
SUPREME COURT—						
Against the Person	1	—	5	—	37	1
Against Property	6	2	50	2	44	—
QUARTER SESSIONS—						
Convictions	11	2	46	—	55	6
Total	18	4	96	2	136	7

Of these, the principal crimes were, five cases of murder, one perpetrated by a free-man, and four by convicts.

The number of persons convicted in the colony, who were free at the time of their conviction, and on the registers of the convict department on the 1st of June, 1848, was 658; viz.—92 who arrived free, or were born free; 472 free by servitude; and 94 conditionally pardoned.

There are eight gaols in the colony, viz., at Hobart Town, Launceston, Oatlands, Richmond, New Norfolk, Campbell Town, Longford, and Swansea, capable of containing 151 prisoners in separate cells, and generally 717 prisoners. The total number in confinement at Michaelmas, 1848, was 124 males and 11 females; the greatest number in confinement at any one time in the year,

was 247 males and 23 females. Wherever there is a gaol or watch-house, a surgeon is paid from the colonial revenues for attending upon the constables, and upon any sick persons confined.

The number of executions in the colony, and the crimes for which each individual suffered, in 1848, are thus officially stated:—

Crime.	Free Persons.	Free by Servitude.	Convicts.
Arson	—	—	1
Murder	1	—	4
Robbery, being armed	—	1	—
Shooting with felonious intent	—	—	5
Stabbing with ditto	—	—	2
Wounding with intent to kill	—	—	2
Total	1	1	14

Flagellation has constituted a large portion of the punishment to which the convicts in Van Diemen's Island are subjected. The number of prisoners flogged during the twelve months ending 30th June, 1846, at twenty-one convict stations and seven police districts was 516, and the number of lashes inflicted was 22,722. At Port Arthur ninety-nine men received 4,110 lashes, averaging more than forty-three each: at Ross twenty-nine men received 1,184 lashes, or forty each. At the coal-mines, eighty-three men received 4,532 lashes, or fifty-four

each. In the police district of Hobart Town, fourteen men received 710 lashes, or fifty each. The average of the whole was forty-four lashes to each convict. It is to be hoped that this demoralizing mode of punishing crime may be by this time less practised, for experience teaches, even though humanity should not have suggested it, that the application of a "eat-o'-nine-tails" usually tends to harden the criminal, and that its frequent use is one of the most effectual means of preventing reformation. *Convict discipline* will be examined in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNMENT—LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—LAWS—MILITARY FORCE—TAXATION—REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE—FINANCIAL STATE—BANKS, COINS, AND MONEYS—COMMERCE—IMPORTS AND EXPORTS—SHIPPING—STAPLE PRODUCTS—LAND IN CULTIVATION—LIVE STOCK—PRICES OF LAND—PROFITS OF SHEEP FARMING—WAGES OF LABOUR, AND PRICE OF PROVISIONS—VAN DIEMEN'S LAND AGRICULTURAL COMPANY—VEGETABLE AND ANIMAL KINGDOM.

On the first establishment of a settlement at Van Diemen's Island, its local affairs were administered by a lieutenant-governor, subject to the orders of the governor of New South Wales; in 1825, an Executive Council was appointed, consisting of the lieutenant-governor, chief justice, colonial secretary, colonial treasurer, and the officer in command of the troops. Subsequently a Legislative Council was authorized to be assembled of not more than fifteen nor less than ten members, to be approved by the warrant from the Crown, some to be independent of the government, *i. e.*, holding no office of trust or emolument.

The colonies have for twenty years been petitioning the Crown and Parliament for local legislative authority.

In the act 13 and 14 Vic. c. 59, providing for the better government of her Majesty's Australian Colonies, Van Diemen's Island is included, and the Tasmanians are authorized to form a Legislative Council, not exceeding in number twenty-four, of whom one-third is to be appointed by the Queen, and the remaining two-thirds to be elected by the free colonists, in districts to be fixed for the purpose. This number of twenty-four councillors may be increased by the Legis-

lative Council, but the proportion of members nominated by the Crown must always be one-third of the number elected. The qualifications for an elector are—twenty-one years of age, a natural born or naturalized subject of her Majesty, a freehold estate of the clear value of £100, above all charges or incumbrances, of which the voter shall be seized or entitled, six months before the date of election; or a licence to depasture stock, or a leasehold estate in possession, of the value of £10 per annum. "Provided always, that no man shall be entitled to vote, who has been attainted or convicted of treason, felony, or other infamous offence in any part of her Majesty's dominions, unless he has received a free pardon, or one conditional on not leaving the colony for such offence; or have undergone the sentence passed on him for such offence."

By the seventeenth and eighteenth clauses, it is provided there shall be annually payable to her Majesty out of the revenue funds arising from taxes, duties, rates, and imposts, the several sums mentioned in the following schedules, to be appropriated as therein mentioned:—

Schedule 1. Governor, £2,000; chief justice, £1,500; puisne judge, £1,200; salaries of attorney

and solicitor-general, crown solicitors, and contingent and miscellaneous expenses of administration of justice throughout the colony, £13,300: total, £18,000.—*Schedule 2.* Colonial secretary, and his department, £2,800; colonial treasurer, and his department, £1,800; auditor-general, and his department, £1,600; salary of clerk of executive council, and miscellaneous expenses, £700; pensions, £2,000: total, £8,900.—*Schedule 3.* Public worship, £15,000.

Any bill passed by the Council altering these schedules must be reserved for the signification of her Majesty's pleasure thereon, previous to such alterations being attempted to be carried into effect.

By clause twenty-seventh, the governor and Legislative Council of Van Diemen's Island, and of the other Australian colonies, may—

"Impose and levy such duties of customs as to such respective governors and councils may seem fit on the importation into such respective colonies of any goods, wares, and merchandise whatsoever, whether the produce or manufacture of or imported from the United Kingdom, or any of the colonies or dependencies of the United Kingdom, or any foreign country: provided always, that no new duty shall be so imposed upon the importation into any of the said colonies of any article the produce or manufacture of or imported from any particular country or place which shall not be equally imposed on the importation into the same colony of the like article, the produce or manufacture of or imported from all other countries and places whatsoever."

By clause thirty-one, it is also provided and enacted,—

"That it shall not be lawful for the legislatures of any of the said colonies to levy any duty upon articles imported for the supply of her Majesty's land or sea forces, nor to levy any duty, impose any prohibition or restriction, or grant any exemption, bounty, drawback, or other privilege, upon the importation or exportation of any articles, nor to impose any dues or charges upon shipping, contrary to or at variance with any treaty or treaties concluded by her Majesty with any foreign power."

This latter clause would seem to be at variance with the former, which prevents the colonists levying any differential duties even in favour of the produce or manufactures of England, as compared with those of the United States, France, or other foreign countries; but should the system of "*free imports*" in England give place to a system of "*reciprocity*" in the commerce between the United Kingdom and foreign countries, under which corresponding or equivalent duties would be levied in the ports of the nations entering into reciprocity treaties; then, as it appears to me, the two clauses of the bill would be in direct opposition to each other, for the colonial legislatures would be obliged not to act "contrary to or at variance with any treaty or

treaties concluded by her Majesty with any foreign power."

By clause twenty-nine, the Australian legislatures are empowered from time to time to pass acts "for the better administration of justice, and for defining the constitution of courts of law, equity, and of juries; district councils, or in other words, municipal corporations may be established by letters patent from the governor." Full powers are granted by the act to the governor and Legislative Council, to impose such taxes, and make such laws as they deem requisite, and to alter the constitution of the Legislative Council, as regards the qualification of the electors and the elected members, or to establish—

"Instead of the Legislative Council, a council and a house of representatives, or other separate legislative houses, to consist respectively of such members to be appointed or elected respectively by such persons and in such manner as by such act or acts shall be determined, and to vest in such council and house of representatives, or other separate legislative houses, the powers and functions of the Legislative Council for which the same may be substituted: provided always, that every bill which shall be passed by the council in any of the said colonies for any of such purposes, shall be reserved for the signification of her Majesty's pleasure thereon; and a copy of such bill shall be laid before both houses of parliament for the space of thirty days at the least, before her Majesty's pleasure thereon shall be signified.

"33. Provided always, and be it enacted, that the provisions of the said firstly-recited act of the sixth year of the reign of her Majesty, as explained and amended by the said secondly-recited act of the eighth year of the reign of her Majesty, concerning bills reserved for the signification of her Majesty's pleasure thereon, shall be applicable to every bill so reserved under the provisions of this act."

Subject therefore to the ratification of approval by their Sovereign, the colonists of Australia and of Van Diemen's Island, possess a perfectly free constitution, such as no parent state ever before granted to its dependencies.

THE LAWS are those of England; there is a supreme court of judicature, having civil, criminal, equity, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and administered by a chief justice and puisne judge; the crown has an attorney and a solicitor-general. The court has four terms, and the judges have six or eight gaol deliveries at Hobart Town and Launceston. Courts of quarter sessions and courts of requests are held in the several districts at stated intervals. The legal practitioners, barristers, attorneys, and proctors have equal rights, and are in number sixty-seven: there are nine notaries public.

Eight of the police magistrates have salaries varying from four to eight hundred a-year; eleven assistant police magistrates received from two to two hundred and fifty pounds a-year, there are beside 248 unpaid, who in 1848, were thus classified—sixty-five naval and military officers, on retired or full pay, twenty-four surgeons, six barristers, nine clergymen, twenty civil officers, nineteen merchants, and 105 other gentlemen. There are also fifty-one coroners residing in different parts of the island, who receive £2 2s. for every inquest they hold, and one shilling for every mile travelled above ten miles from the residence of the coroner.

MILITARY FORCE.—The command includes Norfolk Island and Western Australia, and the distribution of the troops in 1849 was, at Hobart Town, 18 officers and 550 men; Launceston, 4 officers and 115 men; Tasman's Peninsula, 2 officers and 105 men; Spring Bay, 1 officer and 25 men; Oatlands, 1 officer and 23 men; Ross, 2 men. Total in Van Diemen's Island, 26 officers and 820 men. At Norfolk Island, 7 officers and 145 men; at Western Australia, 3 officers and 105 men. Grand total in command, 36 officers and 1,070 men. There are a few mounted police, and the constabulary number 506 men, who could soon be made available as a military force. There is no militia. It would seem advisable to employ some of the convict labour in the colony in the construction of forts for large guns at the entrance of the Derwent, near Iron Pot Light-house, and also at the entrance of the Tamar. At present these two cities are at the mercy of any hostile squadron.

REVENUE.—The public income is derived, as in other colonies, from customs duties, licences, rents of crown lands, &c. In 1824, the revenue fixed amounted to £16,866, and in 1834, it had increased to £89,939, the principal items of increase being in the customs duties. Since then the receipts have fluctuated according to the prosperity or depression of the colonists: the following shews the net revenue of 1848, and indicates the nature and extent of the taxation.

Customs—Port of Hobart, £49,527; ditto, Launceston, £27,624; total, £77,151. Post-office—Collections, £5,184; ditto, aid from home government, £1,500; total, 6,684. Wholesale and retail licences to sell wines and spirits, £9,685; auctioneers', pawn-brokers', hawkers', and carriers' licences, £903; fees under port regulation act of council, £171; stage-coach and theatrical licences, £24; fees for registration of dogs, £906; licences under kangaroo hunting act of council, £19. Fees—from judicial

department, £2,671; ditto, civil, £99; ditto, police, £1,801; total, £5,172. Water-rates, £1,185; rent of markets, £600. Tolls on main line of road, Hobart, £177; ditto, Launceston, £28; total, £206. Rents of crown property, £372; miscellaneous receipts, £1,433. Grants from the home government—in aid of police and gaols, £24,000; ditto of witnesses' expenses, £1,000; total, £25,000. Total revenue of 1848, £129,545.

The *Customs Duties*, which form the principal source of revenue, are levied under the provisions of act 10 Vic. No. 7, (July 13, 1846,) which authorizes an *ad valorem* duty of fifteen per cent. on all merchandise of foreign produce or manufacture. By act 12 Vic. No. 8, (October 6, 1848,) wool, coal (for steam navigation), metallic ores, various seeds and plants, the produce of any British colony or possession, are exempt from the fifteen per cent. duty. By act 4 Wm. IV. No. 15, (Jan. 2, 1834,) the duty on British spirits is fixed at 9s. per proof gallon, and 12s. on foreign spirits. The duty on tobacco is 1s. 6d. per lb. There are also wharfage and warehouse dues on goods, and tonnage, pilotage, and light dues on shipping.

The receipts from the sale of crown lands would have been a productive source of revenue, if the high upset price of 12s., and subsequently of 20s. an acre had not been put on these lands. The proceeds of the land sales were, in 1832, £27,536; 1840, £50,894; 1841, £58,039; 1842, 14,332; 1843, £19,804; total, £270,605. 1844, £6,818; 1845, £1,610; 1846, £5,700; 1847, £2,806; 1848, £4,463; total, £21,397.

Here we trace the injurious effects of too high a price in hindering the purchase of land. The falling off in five years of the receipts amounted to £149,208.

The land revenue collected during the year 1848, with the charges thereon, was—

LAND REVENUE:—

Balance on 1st January, 1848	£10,800
Rent of crown lands	17,466
Sale of crown lands	4,463
Fees of survey department	1,076
Fees for surveys	440
Quit-rents and redemption	203
Sale of aborigines' stores	35
Fees on grant deeds	33

Total £34,519

CHARGES ON LAND REVENUE:—

Survey department	£4,318
Commissioners of titles	576
Aborigines' establishment	2,164
Surveying land, loan to Bridgewater Commissioners, &c.	3,164
Balance on 31st December, 1848	24,295

Total £34,519

The Land Sales act having been repealed, as respects Van Diemen's Island, by the 8 and 9 Viet., c. 95, the Land Fund, in 1847, ceased to form part of the colonial revenue. THE EXPENDITURE for twelve years is thus stated by Sir W. Denison:—

Year.	Civil Establishments.	Police.	Public Works.	Judicial, including Gaols.	Ecclesiastical, and Schools.	Military.	Pensions.	Pauperism.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
1833	£25,261	£564	£11,731	£13,249	£8,050	£603	£1,565	—	£3,764	£74,425
1834	28,620	1,115	18,961	11,821	12,182	1,207	837	—	3,347	78,094
1835	28,954	1,853	17,780	13,135	13,172	518	840	—	3,641	79,895
1836	34,936	12,871	19,031	16,271	19,301	780	865	—	13,356	118,417
1837	34,577	24,138	24,088	18,503	22,260	1,216	876	—	2,006	127,667
1838	28,374	26,229	15,797	21,775	20,441	2,215	846	—	7,410	123,091
1843	28,826	29,881	17,634	19,401	25,464	240	992	3,125	24,930	150,497
1844	31,434	31,859	15,413	20,165	21,576	310	1,086	3,345	23,966	149,190
1845	33,948	33,582	10,370	20,992	18,667	298	1,249	2,796	9,739	131,644
1846	35,783	33,876	9,130	21,083	17,828	198	1,434	5,440	11,440	136,226
1847	28,617	31,776	9,582	17,470	16,094	254	986	3,486	24,677	135,057
1848	32,118	35,463	21,214	21,366	20,092	—	1,206	4,040	5,529	141,351

Note.—The returns of expense of civil establishments includes the salary of the lieutenant-governor.—The figures for 1848 are an estimate.

Loans borrowed and returned, Special Payments, and Aid from Home Government, from 1833 to 1848.

Year.	Loans borrowed during the year.	Loans returned during the year.	Special Payments.	Aid from Home Government for service of the year.	Amount of annual taxation.	Pop. exclusive of troops and convicts in pun- ishment gangs.	Amount of taxation per head.
1833	—	—	—	—	£74,125	33,204	£2 4 9
1834	—	—	—	—	78,094	36,622	2 2 7
1835	—	—	—	—	79,895	38,959	2 0 6
1836	—	—	£13,179	—	118,417	42,373	2 15 10
1837	—	—	—	—	127,667	41,689	3 1 0
1838	—	—	—	—	123,091	44,188	2 15 8
1843	—	—	14,381	—	150,497	57,420	2 12 5
1844	£55,000	£5,000	8,778	—	99,190	59,000	1 13 0
1845	32,000	—	—	—	99,644	61,000	1 12 8
1846	6,000	—	} 9,000	£20,250	115,976	63,000	1 16 9
1847	—	15,441		23,500	106,557	64,179	1 13 2
1848	—	—		28,500	112,851	66,000	1 14 2
Total				1,286,311	607,634	—	

Note.—The figures for 1848 are an estimate.—In the year 1836 the amount under the head special payments was transferred to convict funds; in 1843 to the same, and to colonial agent; in 1844, and in 1846 and 1847, to convict funds. In the year 1846 the aid from home government was for police and gaols, three quarters of year, £18,750; post office, £1,500; and in the year 1847, for police and gaols, £25,000; lieutenant-governor's salary, £2,000; post office, £1,500.

The detail of the expenditure from the colonial treasury, during the year 1848, is thus given in a document transmitted to the Colonial Office, and signed by the auditor:—

The Lieutenant-governor,* £2,000. *Civil Establishment.*—Customs' department, £1,366; port officer, signal stations, and light-houses, £6,944; post-office, £5,579; government printing-office, £1,235; registrars of births, deaths, &c., £416; other civil departments, £8,050: total, £26,591. *Police Establishment.* £33,758. *Public Works.*—Roads, £6,258; public works, £9,022; town surveyors, £1,578; water-works, £1,333: total, £18,192. *Judicial Establishment.*—Judges, £2,739; supreme court and law officers, £6,958; courts of requests, &c., £3,750; sheriff, £2,373; gaols, £3,841; coroners' inquests, £194: total, £20,157. *Ecclesiastical.*—Church of

* The salary of the Lieutenant-governor is £4,000 a-year; the moiety is paid by the colony.

England, £9,301; church of Scotland, £2,936; church of Rome, £1,220; Wesleyan mission, £500; baptist mission, £150: total, 14,108. Day-schools, £5,622; pensions, £446; pauperism, £3,759; Mechanics' Institute and Van Diemen's Land Society, £600; interest on loans, £1,754; miscellaneous, including repayment of an advance by colonial agent to the amount of £4,500 = £9,200. Grand total, £136,193.

The total expenditure in the colony during 1848 was—civil establishment, £121,925; convict establishment, pay of officers, superintendents, and overseers, food and clothing of prisoners, £152,800; military guard and staff officers, including rations, £91,777. Total, £366,502.

The cause of this large expenditure is shewn in the number of free persons employed in the civil government, and in the

convict establishment of the colony in 1848:—

Nature of Office.	Civil Establishment.	Convict Establishment.	Total.
Officers, magistrates, &c.	128	141	269
Chaplains & School-masters	68	54	122
Medical men	19	29	48
Clerks	79	51	130
Tradesmen & seamen	42	83	125
Other free persons	111	218	329
Total	447	576	1,023

In order to shew the progressive taxation of the colony and its yearly expenditure, I subjoin a comparative table of the receipts and disbursements for colonial purposes since 1824; the figures between 1826 and 1847 I derive from an excellent almanac called the *Tasmanian Royal Kalendar* for 1847:—

Year.	Receipts.	Expenditure.	Year.	Receipts.	Expenditure.
1824	£32,126	£32,126	1837	£137,354	£141,442
1825	42,345	42,781	1838	127,709	133,680
1826	53,394	50,806	1839	154,789	142,524
1827	53,316	55,057	1840	183,171	154,501
1828	68,673	66,041	1841	185,803	160,974
1829	60,427	44,146	1842	143,712	184,885
1830	67,926	61,513	1843	135,257	166,600
1831	72,119	71,460	1844	164,341	160,585
1832	91,976	80,542	1845	136,983	138,753
1833	86,005	83,727	1846	123,199	122,776
1834	101,016	115,057	1847	150,474	142,497
1835	113,525	116,122	1848	129,545	136,193
1836	128,137	138,380	1849	—	—

Lord Stanley, in November, 1845, pointed out to the Lords of the Treasury the justice of the British exchequer contributing not less than two-thirds of the then existing expenditure of £36,000 per annum, in Van

Diemen's Island, for gaols and police, as at least one-half the population of the colony was composed of people who either were or had been convicts. The Lords of the Treasury, on the 2nd of February, 1816, agreed that £24,000 per annum should be appropriated from the parliamentary grant for convict purposes, towards defraying the expense of the colonial police and gaols; but, in consideration of this contribution, directed that the future proceeds of land sales, together with any other produce of the crown lands, or of the casual revenues which, previous to 1836, were customarily paid into the commissariat chest, and were applicable to convict expenditure, should again revert to that chest. Earl Grey has recently procured from the Lords of her Majesty's Treasury the release of the territorial fund from the commissariat chest, and directed it to be applied towards various public improvements in the colony.

COMMERCE.—The progress of the maritime trade of the colony will be seen by selecting a few years of the period between 1824 and 1848; it should however be premised that the large expenditure from the British treasury for the maintenance of convicts and troops, would necessarily cause the value of the imports to exceed that of the exports. The total value, however, of the imports, for the ten years ending in 1848, was £6,723,472; and of the exports for the same period, £5,899,831: the excess of imports being only £823,641. It will be observed that the value of the trade was much less in 1848 than in 1840, a period of greater speculation than any previous or subsequent year; indeed in 1844 the imports were only £442,988, exports £408,799. The returns do not shew what quantity of the exports had been previously imported.

Imports and Exports of the Colony in several years, from 1824 to 1848.

Countries.	1824	1830.	1834.	1840.	1844.	1848.
IMPORTS FROM—						
Great Britain	£50,000	£153,478	£316,559	£737,251	£303,097	£460,244
British colonies	10,000	93,251	145,445	217,033	124,675	109,990
Foreign countries	2,000	8,569	14,613	34,072	15,216	23,920
Total	£62,000	£255,298	£476,617	£988,357	£443,988	£594,154
EXPORTS TO—						
Great Britain	£10,000	£52,031	£167,815	£334,156	£252,980	£255,027
British colonies	4,500	93,742	35,399	531,321	151,406	232,718
Foreign countries	—	207	308	1,530	4,413	2,536
Total	£14,500	£145,980	£203,522	£867,007	£408,799	£490,281
Number of tons inwards	11,116	26,582	33,441	—	73,756	91,883

The proportionate import trade of the two principal seaports is indicated in the customs, revenue, and charges collected in each port, year ending January 5th, 1849:—

Duties and Charges.	Hobart Town.	Launceston.
CUSTOM DUTIES—		
On spirits	£24,300	£13,381
„ tobacco	10,592	6,966
Ad valorem	10,906	4,862
Total	£45,798	£25,109
CHARGES—		
Tonnage dues . . .	£1,221	£691
Light	831	511
Wharfage	2,325	1,222
Grand total . . .	£50,182	27,633

The export in *quantity* of some of the staple articles was, from each port, for the year ending January 5th, 1849:—

Articles.	Hobart Town.	Launceston.
Bark, tons	16	266
Barley and oats, bushels . .	22,312	35,138
Bran	5,670	9,785
Wheat	19,995	192,101
Flour, tons	1,211	1,834
Hay „	525	254
Potatoes „	349	1,570
Wool, bales	6,898	6,529
Cattle, number	—	25
Horses „	124	426
Sheep „	359	2,281
Horns	6,583	5,000
Hides and leather bales . . .	695	161
TIMBER—		
Laths and shingles, number	6,789,000	191,990
Palings „	505,000	1,227,768
Pieces „	24,600	70,984
Trenails „	—	22,483
Staves, feet	210,000	500
Sawn, „	3,487,000	98,300
Oil, black whale, tuns . . .	316	45
„ sperm „	654	—
Whalebone, tons	10	1
Tallow, packages	161	123
Hops „	34	22
Malt liquor „	41	443
Fruits and preserves, packages	1820	3,243

The *value* of the staple exports in 1848 is thus stated in the official returns:—

Wool, £195,143; whalebone, £1,960; timber, £20,464; potatoes, £6,124; salt, £1,090; oil, black, £6,235; sperm oil, £41,074; flour, £32,038; grain, barley, £4,255; malt, £702; oats, £6,084; wheat, £50,863; biscuit, £660; fruits and preserves, £4,917; hay, £3,232; hops, £788; hides, skins, and leather, £9,629; horses, £7,500; sheep, £1,530; malt liquor, £4,265; copper, £2,100—copper ore, £148 = £2,248; boots and shoes, £2,005; beef and pork, £1,255; bark, £902; butter and cheese, £1,043; bags and canvass, £1,255.

It will be observed that wool forms an

important item in the staple exports. The quantity exported in 1814 was only forty bales; in 1824 nearly 1,000; in 1830 nearly 4,000; in 1840 more than 10,000; and in 1850 about 20,000 bales, or 5,600,000 lbs. weight. The *value* for ten years from 1839 to 1848 inclusive, was £194,647; £123,667; £254,853; £236,078; £193,746; £176,269; £178,647; £213,522; £247,240; £195,143; total, £2,113,812. The quantity exported year by year from 1814 to 1849, is given in the previous Division of this work in the account of the wool trade of the United Kingdom (pp. 618, 619.) The recent discovery of extensive pastoral tracts will probably cause a considerable augmentation in the wool trade of the colony. Agricultural products are next to wool in value; the value of the grain, flour, potatoes, and hay, exported in 1848, was upwards of £100,000. The timber trade is rapidly increasing, owing to the demand in the adjacent colonies, and in California. Potashes from the burnt timber are now being prepared, and it is calculated by Sir William Denison that ten hundred weight, valued at £15, may be obtained from each acre of timbered land. The encalypti and acacia yield five parts of pure potassa to 1,000 parts of wood. As there is abundance of coal and wood in Van Diemen's Island, establishments for smelting copper ore from Adelaide have been established with success. It is probable, however, that ere long mineral wealth will be added to the property of Tasmania; it is said that a valuable ore of lead has been discovered in the mountain limestone ridge, which extends from Macquarie harbour to the territories of the Van Diemen's Land Agricultural Company. If this be so, copper most likely exists in the same vicinity.

BANKS.—There are three local banks, and the *Union Bank of Australia* and the *Bank of Australasia*, have each branches in the island. In 1823, the establishment of the first bank was effected by a joint stock company, and its issues were made in Spanish dollars at 5s. currency, as it was termed. Up to that time, such was the scarcity of money, that any person circulated at will his promissory notes for dollars, and the parts of a dollar, even so low as three-pence, and the consequent inconvenience, confusion, and loss to the holder, cannot be described. The bank issues, however, rapidly superseded those of individuals, except for the smallest denominations, and they were gradually displaced by the in-

roduction of British copper coin. In 1825 a Treasury order fixed the value of the Spanish dollar at 4s. 4d. sterling, in the king's possessions, where that coin was current for military puposes; and, in 1826, the Legislative Council abolished the currency denominations, and declared that all

transactions should be in pounds, shillings and pence.

The following statement shews the assets and liabilities of the several local Banks and branches of the London Institutions at the end of the year 1848, as extracted from the *Hobart Town Gazette*:—

Banks and Branch Banks.	Estab- lished.	Capital paid up.	Assets.		Liabilities.	
			Bullion.	Bills of Exchange, &c.	Notes and Bills in circulation.	Deposits.
Van Diemen's Island	1823	£80,000	£25,341	£132,667	£10,024	£54,487
Commercial	1829	100,000	29,544	189,105	13,306	90,995
Derwent	1827	120,000	—	—	—	—
Union Bank of Australia—Br.	1838	820,000	87,865	323,814	16,506	105,559
Australasia—Branch	1835	1,200,000	58,341	380,141	19,944	88,039
Totals		2,320,000	£201,093	£1,025,730	£59,780	£339,081

Note.—The Derwent Bank declines to allow a statement of its affairs to be published, as it is not a Bank of Issue. Returns from the Australasian Bank made up to 16th October, 1848.

The coin in the colony on the 31st December, 1848, was:—

In Commissariat chest	£37,000
„ Union Bank of Australia	87,865
„ Bank of Austral-Asia	58,341
„ Commercial Bank	29,544
„ Bank of Van Diemen's Land	25,341
„ Derwent Bank	—
„ circulation, about	10,000
	£248,095

Paper-money in circulation at the same period:—

Union Bank of Australia, Branch	£16,056
Bank of Austral-Asia	16,867
Commercial Bank	13,306
Bank of Van Diemen's Land	10,024
	£56,253

The coins in circulation are gold, silver,

and copper coins, from the British Mint, of every denomination. Spanish and Mexican dollars pass at 4s. each; the dollar with the piece cut out of the centre, for 3s.; the piece so cut out, called a *dump*, for 1s.; half, quarter, and eighth of a dollar, for 2s., 1s., and 6d.; sicca rupee, 2s.; other rupees, 1s. 6d.

These returns exhibit a sound monetary state—the proportion of coin to paper issues is large, and the deposits are of considerable amount. The *Bank of Australasia* is by its charter prohibited from holding mortgages; what proportion of this class of securities may be held by the other banks is not known.

There are three savings' banks, whose state on the 31st of December, 1848, is thus certified by the managers:—

Savings' Banks.	Estab- lished.	Depositors above £10.	Depositors below £10.	Total.	Amount of last Dividend, and when declared.
Derwent (Hobart Town)	1828	115	62	£6,167	4 per cent., Dec. 31, 1848.
Hobart Town	1845	544	775	22,017	4 per cent., Aug. 31, 1848.
Launceston	1835	406	358	15,452	3 per cent. interest added to the principal half-yearly.
Totals		1,065	1,195	£43,637	

Insurance Companies.

Names.	Estab- lished.	Capital.
Tasmanian Fire and Life	1835	£62,300 in 623 sh. of £100.
Hobart Town and Launceston Marine	1836	64,100 in 641 sh. of £100.
Derwent and Tamar Fire, Life, and Marine	1838	100,000 in 2,000 sh. of £50.
Cornwall Fire and Marine	1841	10,000 in 5,000 sh. of £10.

There are also branches of the *Australasian Colonial and General Life Assurance*,

and of the *London Alliance, British and Foreign Life and Fire Assurance Company*.

Weights and Measures as in England.

The *Fisheries* at Hobart Town employed in 1848, 37 ships and 136 boats; the fish taken in 1848 numbered 69 black whales, giving 480 tuns of oil, at £20 per ton = £9,600; 107 sperm whales, giving 643 tons of oil, at £63 per ton = £40,509. 210 cwt. of whalebone at £10 per ton = £1,155. Total

value of oil and bone, £51,264. At Great Swan Port, 14 boats were employed in 1848; 1,500,000 oysters were taken, valued at £2,000, and one black whale, valued at £70.

The number and tonnage of vessels *belonging* to the colony is considerable, and increasing; in 1824 Hobart Town had one vessel of 43 tons burthen, Launceston one, also of a like tonnage. On the 1st of January, 1842, there were belonging to the port of Hobart Town, vessels, 162; tonnage, 14,640: to Launceston, vessels, 47; tonnage, 3,772—total, vessels, 209; tonnage, 18,412. The vessels *built* in the colony during the year 1847, were, in number, 29; tonnage varying from 20 to 300 tons and upwards; this branch of business is annually increasing. The timber is adapted for naval architecture, the vessels built very creditable to their constructors, and the price does not exceed £8 per ton. The vessels employed in the fisheries in 1847, were in number, 29; tonnage, 6,081. The coasting-trade between Hobart Town and Launceston, during 1847, employed inwards, vessels, 20; tonnage, 2,136.

The trade of the colony is now in a sound and healthy state; the exports bear a fair proportion to the imports; the staple products are annually increasing, and New Zealand, California,* and other places, require all the food and timber which Tasmania can spare.

The annexed return, showing the number of persons who have declared themselves insolvent, or who have been declared insolvent, in Van Diemen's Land, during the year 1848, exhibits an amount of assets for which it would not be easy to find a parallel in the records of the Insolvent Court in the United Kingdom:—

Quantity of land cultivated, and produce of the principal crops.

—	Hobart Town.	Launceston.	Total.
Number who declared themselves insolvent . . .	57	33	90
Scheduled liabilities . . .	£55,751	£13,392	£69,144
Scheduled assets . . .	£11,163	£5,146	£16,310
Number declared insolvent by creditors . . .	2	2	4
Scheduled liabilities . . .	£4,732	£16,201	£20,933
Scheduled assets . . .	£4,147	£16,838	£20,986
Insolvencies superseded . . .	2	3	5

POST OFFICE.—The postal arrangements of the colony for the year 1848, shew the active internal intercourse of the inhabitants. — Post-offices in the colony, 51; persons employed, 76; miles of post roads, 634; letters sent from Hobart Town, 125,785; newspapers sent from Hobart Town, 222,522; letters received, 161,571. Two-penny post-offices—franked letters—Hobart, 6,341; Launceston, 221. Total, 6,562. Other letters—Hobart, 9,556; Launceston, 4,757. Total, 14,313. Gross revenue, £7,004 5s. 6d.; gross expenditure, £6,397.

LAND AND PRODUCE.—The agriculture and live stock of the colony has largely increased, as shewn in the annexed table:—

Years.	Acres under Crop.	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Goats.
1828	34,033	2,034	84,476	553,698	708
1834	69,041	7,115	74,075	766,552	1,070
1841	89,856	12,000	90,498	1,167,737	2,630
1848	171,540	17,196	85,485	1,752,963	2,902

The live stock, especially the horses, are of a good character, care having been taken to import from England thorough-bred animals. Steam navigation between British India and the Australian colonies would give rise to a valuable trade for the remounts of the horse artillery and cavalry of the Anglo-Indian army.

Years.	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Potatoes.		Hay	
	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Tons.	Acres.	Tons.
1828	20,357	314,260	3,864	70,500	1,573	34,166	2,192	4,328	4,970	2,500
1838	41,749	550,189	13,495	182,140	21,575	236,758	3,532	11,501	17,587	15,915
1848	64,700	1,153,318	14,042	331,184	29,463	756,762	3,916	18,231	49,313	43,195

The wheat of Van Diemen's Island is of very superior quality, and brings a higher price in the London market than any other foreign grain; it will doubtless become a

* I may here note a grievance to which the Tasmanian, as well as the Australian colonists, are subjected in the ports of the United States. American meat, grain, and flour are received into British ports *free of duty*, but when our colonists send their pro-

large article of export: the rate at which it may be introduced for sale in Mark-lane, is about 41s. per quarter of 70 lbs.; viz., cost at Hobart Town, 3s., freight, 2s., insurance and duce to the United States, it is met with prohibitory enactments; for example, Australian cured meat is taxed forty per cent. on its introduction into California, and other articles in proportion.

80 AREA, CULTIVATION, LIVE STOCK, &c., IN EACH DISTRICT.

interest on four months' voyage, 2d. = 5s. 2d. | The area, cultivation, live stock, &c., in
per bushel. Thus giving a profit of at least | each district, were, on the 31st of December
10 per cent to the importers. | 1848, as follow :—

Police Districts.	Quantity of land.	Land in cultiva- tion.	Granted or Sold Lands uncultivated.	Granted and sold to Settlers.	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Goats.	Pigs.
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Bothwell	299,520	4,214	148,994	153,208	685	4,161	193,980	4	770
Brighton	133,760	11,248 ¹	92,636 ¹	103,885	1,017	2,290	49,503	171	411
Campbell Town.	492,800	4,358 ²	314,122 ²	318,481	1,188	4,210	249,544	82	853
Fingal	1,807,360	4,500 ²	117,627 ²	122,128	892	3,689	154,865	128	1,068
George Town	792,320	659 ²	55,915 ²	56,575	245	1,681	53,170	64	244
Great Swanport	677,120	5,105 ²	112,679	117,784	507	1,579	82,962	112	1,411
Hamilton	415,360	4,751 ²	186,992 ²	191,744	1,183	9,738	215,989	32	1,641
Hobart Town	688,160	4,915 ²	94,283 ²	99,199	1,806	3,041	9,811	845	3,307
Horton	2,574,000	5,548	344,452	350,000	273	2,639	10,322	170	402
Launceston	437,760	9,532	127,140	136,672	1,120	5,260	31,103	275	2,219
Longford	590,720	28,586	172,633	201,219	1,954	7,578	157,170	41	3,555
Morven	260,480	16,146	130,247	146,393	1,316	5,424	90,470	30	2,546
New Norfolk	125,440	5,854	62,524	68,378	628	1,747	32,902	53	1,387
Oatlands	448,000	14,484 ²	234,361 ²	248,846	1,140	4,795	257,459	40	1,332
Port Sorell	561,920	2,064	9,846	11,910	133	1,655	4,554	86	351
Richmond	153,600	16,574 ²	136,342 ²	152,917	1,352	3,512	55,740	400	2,820
Sorell and Prosser's Plains.	440,320	13,195 ²	52,792 ²	65,988	661	2,869	40,684	180	2,500
Southport	1,304,800	1,169	5,410	6,579	60	525	1,247	157	372
Westbury	571,520	18,633	150,907	169,540	1,036	19,092	61,488	32	2,978
Not yet marked off into Po- lice Districts	1,707,932	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	14,482,892	171,540	2,549,906	2,721,446	17,196	85,485	1,752,963	2,902	29,967

The total number of acres held under de-
pasturing licences on the 31st of December,
1848, was 1,363,427, at a rental of £17,511.
More than 11,000,000 acres remain un-
granted in the colony.

The number of grants of land, in 1848,
under 100 acres, was forty-nine—extent,
1,201 acres; the number above 100 acres,
and not exceeding 500 acres, two—extent,

333 acres; the total purchase money, for
1,534 acres, £1,877.

In order to afford an idea of the extent
of cultivation in each district, I subjoin a
return of the number of acres in the
growing crops not gathered in, and pro-
bable produce of each crop, in Van Die-
men's Island, on the 31st of December,
1848 :—

Police District.	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Peas.		Beans.		Potatoes.		Turnips.	
	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bush.	Acres.	Bush.	Acres.	Tons.	Acres.	Tons.
Bothwell	1,016	21,514	744	20,425	712	21,925	3	30	15	38	125	452	1,564	
Brighton	5,493	111,131	1,938	36,780	1,282	27,986	58	606	8	104	193	391	760	1,821
Campbell Town.	1,541	46,450	382	11,431	792	25,641	5	—	—	—	36	110	380	984
Fingal	1,803	39,079	454	12,870	680	9,974	2	42	—	—	75	260	333	1,031
George Town	447	7,180	44	959	77	1,240	2	5	—	—	28	58	33	116
Great Swan Port	2,866	68,180	230	5,423	267	7,500	13	260	1	30	121	613	555	4,019
Hamilton	1,380	20,703	1,090	27,262	552	16,567	21	420	1	25	71	285	456	6,840
Hobart	1,288	28,352	541	21,670	794	22,820	171	4,293	41	820	754	6,036	338	3,382
Horton	1,077	26,925	115	3,450	223	6,690	—	—	—	—	508	2,040	82	410
Launceston	5,395	91,715	317	6,157	1,507	32,419	38	524	10	129	271	774	279	1,546
Longford	11,148	96,690	1,000	13,104	4,497	41,473	8	110	12	220	80	275	771	738
Morven	8,067	154,776	788	20,295	1,793	45,256	36	608	4	78	89	220	481	1,726
New Norfolk	2,295	45,671	699	16,915	338	7,377	17	303	3	56	185	727	715	—
Oatlands	1,979	41,679	889	17,780	9,618	337,450	22	365	7	65	73	177	749	4,497
Port Sorell	868	20,701	87	1,110	337	9,565	2	60	—	—	194	1,121	75	861
Richmond	6,366	99,110	2,326	55,121	1,052	23,404	96	1,519	22	105	402	1,321	1,107	5,984
Sorell and Prosser's Plains	4,370	62,689	1,840	45,393	940	24,359	101	1,866	18	98	95	315	491	1,786
South Port	300	6,613	41	693	41	1,026	42	884	—	—	528	2,496	40	234
Westbury	6,997	164,154	512	14,345	3,958	94,089	33	1,004	3	60	170	884	737	3,700
Total	64,700	1,153,313	14,042	331,184	29,463	756,762	674	12,900	132	1,805	3,916	18,231	8,836	41,239

Note.—The produce in stock or stores on 31st December, 1848, was :—wheat, 88,393; barley, 27,771; oats, 13,862; peas, 114; beans, 45 bushels; potatoes, 100; turnips, 21 tons.

The supplies required for the prisoners | articles the produce of the colony, deduct-
have certainly been a great stimulus to the | ing the quantities grown at the convict
agriculturists. The estimated consumption | stations, was—fresh meat, 1,696,853 lbs.;
of the convict establishments, in 1849, of | salt beef, 264,990; salt pork, 7,166; suet

and lard, 1,100; vegetables, 823,921; flour, 3,628,316; bread, 575,566; biscuit, 37,960; bran, 6,000; peas, 9,490; candles, 9,954; wood, 7,665,026; straw, 32,175; milk, 174,281 pints; yeast, 2,269; oil, 13,909 gallons. Value £37,222.

The stock slaughtered for food must now be very large; the consumption of sheep and cattle, in the two chief towns, may be conjectured from the following statement:—

Years.	Hobart Town.		Launceston.	
	Sheep.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Cattle.
1828	35,080	1,381	—	—
1841	51,391	2,387	—	—
1848	55,876	4,159	18,745	1,476

The price of land necessarily varies, according to fertility and position. The crown lands are put up to auction at 20s. per acre; but the sales are very small. The licence fee for depasturing stock on crown lands is at the rate of £10 per 1,000 acres. In the *Launceston Examiner* newspaper, for December, 1849, there is a list of small farms, of twenty to 350 acres, sold in the Launceston district, on which there was more or less building, clearing, and fencing, and the sale price varied from £4 to £10 per acre. In the Oatlands district, 7,674 acres of pasture land sold, in September, 1849, for 34s. to 40s. per acre.

In November, 1849, a farm at New Norfolk, of 441 acres, with house and other buildings on it, sold for £2 14s. 6d. per acre. At Clarence Plains, 663 acres, with house and other buildings, sold for £2 14s. per acre. In Hamilton district, 3,420 acres of pasture land, with house and other buildings, sold for 14s. 6d. an acre; same district, 4,340 acres pasture land, house and other buildings, 22s. an acre.

The soils are, generally speaking, well adapted for cultivation; and some have been cropped for twenty years successively, without manure. The injurious effect of this course of proceeding is self-evident; for the land, deprived of the mineral ingredients requisite for the food of plants, necessarily becomes exhausted. Professor Liebig, who has so successfully investigated the laws which govern organic and inorganic life, instances a plantation in Virginia, from which harvests of wheat and tobacco were annually obtained for a century without manure; but each year the crop became less and less, and the soil more and more

unfruitful; for during this period 12,000 lbs. weight of alkalies, contained in straw, grain, and leaves, were abstracted from the impoverished land. Manuring and irrigation are now being more carefully attended to in Van Diemen's Island, and yield valuable results. Farms of the highest productive power in the island, without manuring or irrigation, yield forty bushels of wheat per acre, in return for a bushel and-a-half sown; inferior lands yield from twenty to twenty-five bushels per acre.

Small *tenant* farmers are now increasing in Van Diemen's Island, and large landed proprietors find it their interest to clear and prepare agricultural allotments for the purpose. For some farms of 100 to 500 acres, partially cleared and fenced, the corn-rent paid is one to three bushels of wheat per acre; for others the money-rent is 9s. to 12s. 6d. per acre, on leases of seven to ten years. Plots of fifty acres are granted for two or three years rent-free, after which annually increasing payments, either in money or corn, are to be made.

The expense of managing a station of 20,000 sheep in Van Diemen's Island in 1849, was—ten shepherds at £16 each = £160; one principal shepherd, £50; five hut keepers, at £12 each = £60. Total, £270. Rations for sixteen men, at £12 each = 192; extra rations for washers, &c., £40 = £232; 200 woolbags, packing (2s. 6d. a bale), cartage, repairs, contingencies and rams, altogether, say £107; shearing, at 10s. per 100 sheep, £100; dressing and washing, £200; rent of 60,000 acres of crown pasture land, at £10 per 1,000 acres = £600. Thus, the total cost for leasing 60,000 acres, and tending, &c., 20,000 sheep, would be £1,810.

The cost for 20,000 sheep, at 5s. per head, is £5,000; if purchased with capital borrowed at 5 per cent = £250, which, added to £1,810, gives an annual outlay of £2,060. Estimating the average annual fleece of full grown Tasmanian sheep at 3 lbs. each = 60,000 lbs., worth all round, 1s. per lb. = £3,000. In addition to this net return of £940 on £2,060, there is the large yearly increase of the flock, say about one thousand, and the annual sale of wethers for market, say another thousand, at 5s. each = £250. It is not therefore surprising that sheep farming is more on the increase than tillage in Van Diemen's Island.

There is indeed no better field for the agriculturist and grazier; and in order to

facilitate the introduction and settlement of small capitalists and other persons capable of employing labourers, Earl Grey, on the 27th August, 1849, authorized purchasers of land of not less than 100 acres for £100, in addition to a credit available at the land sales in the colony, to be entitled to free passages to Hobart Town, for themselves, their families and servants, to the same amount as their deposit, according to the following scale: for a cabin passage, £50; an intermediate ditto, £25; a steerage ditto, £20; two children under fourteen reckoned as equal to one adult, and no charge for infants under one year. His lordship also proposed to assist persons going to Van Diemen's Island under these regulations, with regard to the preparation of land and houses, so as to mitigate the difficulties of a first settlement. Thus, for instance, a person depositing £100 in England, in addition to free passages of the above-named value, would obtain 100 acres of land, with assistance towards the clearing of the land and the erection of his house, to the value in labour and materials of £50 more.

With a view also to encourage emigration to the colony, Earl Grey has caused it to be notified that parties wishing to contribute towards enabling their relatives or friends to join them, may pay into the Colonial Military Chest, such sums as they desire, which will be forwarded to England, and the Lords of the Treasury will contribute a sum equal to that paid into the Military Chest; and with these sums the emigration commissioners will be directed to provide passages to Van Diemen's Island for the parties described in the lists.

Labour.—Tasmania, by means of a large introduction of convicts, has for several years possessed an abundant supply of labour, and furnished a large accession to the labouring classes of the neighbouring colonies; as many as 4,000 individuals having migrated in one year from Van Diemen's Island to the adjoining coast. The *wages* paid to mechanics in Van Diemen's Island, averaged for the year 1848, without board and lodging, per diem—bricklayers, 4s. 10d.; joiners, 5s.; carpenters, 4s. 8d.; masons, 4s. 10d.; plasterers, 4s. 6d.; painters, 4s. 11d.; plumbers, 5s. 6d.; quarrymen, 3s. 2d.

The *prices* of food during the same period were—fresh meat, 1½d. to 4d., averaging 2½d. per lb.; wheat, averaging 4s. 6d.

per bushel; flour, averaging £8 10s. 6d. per ton; vegetables, averaging 5s. 6d. per 100 lbs.

An agricultural association for the promotion of emigration, and the improvement of live stock, called the *Van Diemen's Land Agricultural Company*, was established in London by act of parliament, and incorporated by royal charter in 1825, with a capital of £1,000,000, divided into 10,000 shares of £100 each.

Large tracts of land have been granted by the crown to the company; viz., at Woolnorth, in the north-west part of the island, 150,000 acres; at Circular Head and the coast adjoining, 20,000 acres; at Emu Bay and the Hampshire Hills, 60,000 acres; at Middlesex Plains, 10,000 acres; at the Surrey Hills, 150,000 acres, and in Trefoil, Walker and Robbin's Islands, about 10,000 acres. Total, 400,000 acres. The principal station is at Circular Head, where the commissioner for the company resides. (See residence on map). The Van Diemen's Land Agricultural Company have certainly made great and expensive efforts for several years to clear, improve, and cultivate the land thus granted; but the selections were in several respects unwisely made, and after sinking large sums of money in clearing forests, draining swamps, importing improved breeds of stock, and sending out a superior class of agricultural labourers and their families, the company, it is understood, are now abandoning efforts which gave no return to their shareholders, and directing attention to leasing their lands on favourable terms to tenants. The population on the estates of the company, 31st August, 1849, was stated to be 1,000; cleared land in cultivation by tenants, 2,487 acres; horses in their possession, 104; cattle, 364; sheep, 560; swine, 413. The company have about 1,200 acres of cleared land laid down in English grasses: 3,500 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep, 300 horses and 100 fallow-deer. The paid-up capital of the company is about £220,000, on which no dividend has been paid for several years. The £100 share is now scarcely negotiable.

VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.—The vegetation of Van Diemen's Island resembles in its general characteristics that of the adjacent coast. The first botanical investigation was made by Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander, in 1770, and about 1,000 species were collected, principally by Sir Joseph Banks himself, during the first voyage of Captain Cook.

This list was subsequently increased, and when Mr. Robert Brown, the naturalist, engaged on the surveying expedition under the charge of Captain Flinders, commenced his researches, the number of ascertained Australian plants was about 1,300. The industry, talent, and zeal of this gentleman enabled him to add nearly 3,000 to those before known. Of the Australian Flora Brown found that upwards of 2,900 species were *dicotyledonous*,* and 860 *monocotyledonous*: to the last mentioned division 4,000 *acotyledonous* ferns are considered to belong. The *leguminosæ* (such as the pea) and *compositæ* (such as the sun-flower) comprehend one-fourth of all the dicotyledonous, and the grasses form a like proportion of the monocotyledonous plants, of which only one-tenth have been observed in other parts of the world. Of the *cryptogamic* plants (ferns, mosses, mushrooms, &c.) the greater number are to be found in Europe; some, however, are peculiar to Australia and to Van Diemen's Island. By his classification the whole Australian vegetation is divided into 120 natural orders. Since the period when the elaborate *Prodromus Floræ Novæ Hollandiæ et Insulæ* of Brown was published, about 2,000 additions have been made, principally by Cunningham, Ross, Gunn, Hooker, Backhouse, Mitchell, Stokes, and others; so that there are now about 6,000 known species of Australian plants. The greatest mass of vegetation belongs to the natural orders *proteaceæ*, *epacrideæ*, *myrtaceæ*, *leguminosæ*, and *compositæ*;—the most common genera are the *eucalyptæ* and *acaciæ*. According to Backhouse the eucalyptus is said to form seven-eighths of the vast Tasmanian forests. Upwards of 100 species have been discovered; many of them are remarkable for their vast height and enormous dimensions. The *eucalyptus globulus* was observed by Labillardière in Van Diemen's Island to attain a height of 150 feet, with a girth near the base of twenty-five to forty feet. Lieutenant Breton mentions one which he saw of a triangular form, the south-east face of which was 18 feet in length, that to the north $19\frac{1}{2}$, and to the west, $22\frac{1}{2}$; total, 60 feet in girth. The measurements of some large forest trees are given in chapter II., p. 52.

Of the *acaciæ* several of the leafless species have been discovered; the dilated

foliaceous footstalk performing the functions of the true compound leaf; of the genus *casuarinæ*, which have branches that appear jointed like the stem of an *equisetum*, thirteen species have been found; the *coniferæ* are few in number, but very fine; of the *palms* only six species have been discovered.

The *epacrideæ*, with its allied genera, are very numerous, the *orchidaceæ* diminish in number towards the colder regions. Among the *asphodeleæ* the chief genus is the *xanthorrhæa* (*grass-tree*), of which there are several varieties; of these the most beautiful, namely the broad-leaved *grass-tree*, *richea dracophylla*, is very abundant in certain localities, grows from ten to fifteen feet high, and has numerous branches terminated by spike-like panicles of white flowers, intermingled with broad bracteal leaves tinged with pink. The different species of *xanthorrhæa* are usually found on the poorest soil, and in very open situations.

All the trees are evergreens, and some of them, particularly the *acaciæ*, put forth very rich blossoms in spring; but the colour of nearly all of this description has been remarked to partake more or less of yellow. The foliage is usually of olive-green, varying between that and a browner tint; and the eye wanders over the wide expanse of dense forest, seeking in vain the variety afforded by the deciduous tribes.

Notwithstanding the uniformity of hue which gives something of monotony to their appearance, the forests of Tasmania are of unsurpassed grandeur: sometimes they present spots laid out by the hand of nature; in stately groves, free from underwood; sometimes opening on verdant glades, intersected with crystal rivelets; sometimes skirting an open country of hill and plain, carpeted with rich herbage, and ornamented with isolated groups of the graceful casuarina, pine, myrtle, sassafras, and fern trees. But not unfrequently the gigantic forest is rendered impenetrable by thickets of fern and other shrubs (some of which are of great beauty, and produce very elegant blossoms), interlaced by innumerable flowering creepers, presenting pictures such as Humboldt delighted to depict on the banks of the Orinoco.

Among the best known and most commonly used woods in the colony. are the—*Stringy bark*, which is used for various

* *Dicotyledon*, in botany, means a plant whose seeds are divided into *two* lobes. In *Monocotyledonous* plants there is but *one* seed lobe. The *acoty-*

ledonous plants may be said to be devoid of seed lobes, or they have none distinctly traceable. *Orders* are subdivided into *genera*, *species*, and *varieties*.

building purposes, and has been not unaptly termed the oak of Van Diemen's Island, as well on account of the appearance and durability of the wood, as of the uses to which it is applied. The immense size to which these trees occasionally attain has been previously noticed. Shingles split from them are used in the place of tiles and slates on the houses of the settlers. The bark is brown and cracked.

Iron bark, a name applied in New South Wales to more than one species of *eucalyptus* on account of the bark being exceedingly coarse, hard, and iron-like, is not frequent in Tasmania.

The *white*, *blue*, and *black-barked gum*, different varieties of the *eucalyptus*, are used in the colony by shipwrights, wheelwrights, and for fencing, building, &c.; considerable quantities of gum are obtained from these trees, the best is procured from the white gum, *eucalyptus resinifera*, whose bark contrasts with that of the stringy-bark, being smooth, and of a greyish hue.

Among the *casuarinæ* the *she oak* or beef-wood is the most common, and is used for firewood; occasionally the *swamp oak* is, I believe, employed for cabinet work, and also the forest oak.

The *Huon pine* ranks high, both in beauty and value. It is supposed by Backhouse to be a species of *dacrydium*, and attains a height of about 100 feet, and a circumference of twenty-five feet. It is of a pyramidal form, the trunk branches commence about thirty feet from the ground, the others run generally about six feet apart, growing out horizontally until they droop slightly from their own weight; they are clothed with numerous slender pendant scaly green branches, like those of the cypress and *arbor vite*, which serve the purpose of leaves. The wood has an aromatic smell; is of a light mottled yellow colour, closer grained and more durable than white American pine; it is much valued for ship and house building, ornamental cabinet work, picture-frames, and general purposes. It derives its name from having been first found in the neighbourhood of the Huon river; it abounds also in the vicinity of Macquarie harbour.

The *Norfolk Island pine* will be described under the head of the locality from which it takes its name.

A species of pine called the *callitris pyramidalis*, is a cypress-like tree, which attains to seventy feet in height, and affords

narrow planks and small timbers, which is useful in building, but not easy to work, being liable to splinter; the wood is of a rich yellow hue, very compact, and possessed of a cedar-like perfume. It is a distinguishing feature of the forests in the vicinity of Oyster bay. The *celery-topped pine* (*thalamici asplenifolia*), is so called from its resemblance at the summit to the well-known esculent of the same name; it attains a height of fifty feet, and two and-a-half feet in diameter, and is well calculated for the construction of masts.

The *sassafras* (*atherosperma moschata*) is a beautiful tree; it occasionally attains a height of 130 feet, and a circumference of six to seven feet; like many of the *coniferae*, it is conical, and has all its branches of the same year's growth, radiating from one point on the trunk. It is chiefly used for flooring. A decoction of the bark taken with milk has a pleasant taste.

The *myrtle forests* (*fagus Cunninghamii*) in the vicinity of the Hampshire hills have been previously noticed. Backhouse mentions two of these trees as being respectively thirty-two and forty-five feet in girth, and about 150 feet high; but these are exceptional instances, as they rarely in that locality exceed thirty feet in circumference. The myrtle is allied to beech, but has leaves like the dwarf birch; it is suited for the keels of vessels, and is also used for house-work.

The *tea-tree* (*leptospermum lanigerum*, and *melaleuca linarifolia*) is of the myrtle family, it is ordinarily a shrub of about ten feet in height, but in certain localities attains to eighty feet; the leaves are occasionally used as a substitute for tea, but they are too highly aromatic to be agreeable to most palates.

The dark and pale varieties of *Light Wood* (*acaciæ*), so called from its floating in water, while all the other Van Diemen's Island woods generally sink, except that of the pines—is a fine timber, and its roots are much valued for veneering.

The *black and silver wattle* (*acaciæ*) are the gayest of the forest trees when in bloom: their barks contain a large quantity of tannin, which is employed in the preparation of leather; the former yields a gum adapted for sizing silk goods.

Cedar is much used by cabinet-makers, as also those woods locally called the *cotton-tree*, *musk*, *silver-wood*, *plum-tree* and *yellow-wood*. Mill cogs are made of *liquumviteæ*; boat timbers of red and white *honeysuckle*,

different species of *banksia*, resembling a fir in growth, but having foliage more like a holly. Shingles are sometimes made of *peppermint*, the leaves of which contain a pungent oleaginous substance; gun-stocks of *pink-wood* (*carpodontos lucida*), and the *cypress* or *native cherry* (*exocarpus cupressiformis*) which grows to the height of about sixteen feet, in the form of a cone of bright green colour, bearing a small, red, oval-shaped fruit of a sweet taste, the seed or stone being on the outside. The bark of the *pepper-tree* (*Tasmania fragrans*) contains important medicinal qualities.

Among the handsomest shrubs is the *tulip-tree* (*telopea truncata*), a laurel-like shrub, bearing heads four inches across, of brilliant, scarlet, wiry, flowers, abounding in honey, which is easily extracted by means of the slender tubular stems of grass.

The variety and beauty of the *ferns* and *tree-ferns*, and the extraordinary size to which the latter attain, has been frequently alluded to; the black substance forming part of their stems is used for reeding in inlaying, for which purpose it is superior to ebony; the roots and heart of several descriptions were formerly roasted and eaten by the aborigines; the inner leaves of the grass-tree also serve as food, and there are some wild fruits, but mostly with a thin fleshy pulp, and of an acid quality: the common mushroom abounds. There is an esculent fungus, called "*native bread*," a species of tuber attaining the size of a child's head, and resembling in taste boiled rice: cooking produces little change in its character. The natives say that the bread is found in a rotten tree. An edible fungus is found in clusters, from the size of a marble to that of a walnut, upon swollen branches of the myrtle: when young, its colour is pale and covered with a thin skin that is easily taken off: in this state its taste is like that of cold cow-heel. When matured, the skin splits and exhibits a net-work of a yellowish colour. The *native potato* is obtained from a plant of the orchis tribe, which is brown, leafless, one-and-a-half feet high, with dingy white tubular flowers; it grows among decayed vegetable matter, and has a root like a series of kidney potatoes, terminating in a branched thick moss of coral fibres. The *mesembryanthemum* is the most widely-diffused plant in Austral-Asia, being found on all the coasts; the berry has a sweetish alkaline taste.

The *geranium*, as at the Cape of Good

Hope, grows into a bushy shrub, and is used for hedge-rows. The *castor oil plant* yields the well-known medicine. Some of the low shrubs and creeping plants are of extreme beauty; among them I may notice several species of *epacris*, which resemble heath, bearing white, pink, or crimson flowers, and edible fruit, the *pomaderris elliptica*, with large clusters of small sulphur-coloured blossoms; the *comesperma volubilis*, a climber, the flowers of which, in spring, hang in blue festoons among the bushes, in all parts of the island, and many others too numerous to name.* The climate is in some places too cold for grapes and cucumbers, but apples, pears, quinces, mulberries, and walnuts succeed better than in England. Oaks, ashes, and sycamores raised from English seed attain to three or four feet the first year. There are several native grasses, of which that called Kangaroo grass (*anthistiria Australis*) affords the best pasturage, and is less affected by drought than those of Europe: it grows in bunches, and bears a white convolvulus-shaped flower.

ZOOLOGY.—The animals of Van Diemen's Island closely resemble those of Australia, and are, like them, few in number. (See Division IV., p. 734.) The dingo or native dog, is however, not found in Tasmania, but in its place there is an animal popularly called a hyena or tiger, supposed to be an undescribed variety of *dasyurus*, which, though it flies from man with the timidity of a hare, is very destructive among flocks. It sometimes measures six feet from the snout to the tail. It is striped with black and white on the back, and the belly and sides are of a grey colour. Its mouth resembles that of a wolf, with huge jaws, opening almost to the ears. The legs are short in proportion to the body, and it has a slug-gish appearance; but in running it bounds like a kangaroo, though not with equal speed. It belongs to the *marsupial* order, the female carrying its young in a pouch, like most of the other quadrupeds of the country.

The *dasyurus ursinus*, popularly called the devil, is another animal of the same species. It is extremely ugly, with a head somewhat resembling an otter's, but disproportionate to the size of the body; the mouth is supplied with three rows of teeth; the legs short, with feet like the feline race; the tail short and thick, and the skin of a sable colour. When provoked, it gnashes

* See Backhouse's *Visit to the Australian Colonies*, p. 23, and Appendix.

its teeth with great violence, making at the same time a noise not unlike that of a bear: it can exist a long time without food, and is perfectly untameable. It frequents rocky hills, whence it issues at night in search of its prey. The only other carnivorous animals are several sorts of wild cats in the woods, one of which is called the tiger-cat, from its general resemblance to that animal; others partake of the nature of the pole-cat and weazel, in appearance and mode of life, and are between the two in size, being a little larger than the ferret, and not unlike it in shape; they are all great enemies to the poultry yard, and occasionally also to young lambs.

Of the kangaroo (*macropus*), the chief varieties are the *forester*, (which is the largest,) the *brush*, and the *wallabi*. The bound of the kangaroo is prodigious, sometimes exceeding twenty paces, and this can be kept up for some time, so as to outstrip the fleetest greyhound. The abdominal pouch, which this singular animal possesses, is well known; the young attach themselves to the mother's nipple from the earliest instant of their birth, and I have found them adhering to it, when totally devoid of hair—scarcely indeed formed, and without sign of life. Nature seems to have designed the marsupial pouch as a substitute for a burrow or nest; and within its precincts, the careful mother shelters her helpless young, letting them out when they become capable of motion, to graze on the tender herbage, or carefully conveying them across rivers, and through forests, when pursued by her enemies, until they are able to provide for their own sustenance and safety. The kangaroo has rarely more than two at a birth, is extremely timid, unless when hard pressed for life, when it will set its back against a tree—boldly await the dogs—and rip them up with its hind claws, or give them a formidable squeeze with its fore arms, until the blood gushes from the bound's nostrils; sometimes the poor creature will take to the water, and seizing the heads of the dogs as they approach, hold them under water until they are drowned: their tails are of immense strength and thickness. They are extremely docile; I had one for sometime as a pet, which followed me about the house and garden like a dog, eat out of my hand, sat behind my chair at meals, giving me an occasional kick when I forgot to help him as well as myself. This beautiful ani-

mal, which may be considered as peculiar to Australia, is, I regret to say, fast disappearing before the abodes of civilized man; for, as the aborigines say, "where white man sit down, kangaroo go away." Their skins are tanned for leather, and are used with the hair on for making rugs.

The kangaroo rat and the kangaroo mouse are two varieties of the same species; the former is about the size of a rabbit, and the latter is considerably smaller; they have also the ventral sack or pouch on the lower part of the stomach, the short fore paws, and the long hind legs; but the ears resemble those of the mouse. They are night animals, sleeping during the whole day, even when domesticated.

There are two or three kinds of opossums, which usually take up their abode in the hollows of decayed gum trees, and feed on the leaves or branches: they are valued in the colony on account of their skins, which, however, are seldom preserved so as to be valuable as an article of export.

There are two kinds of moles, called the rat and rabbit bandicoot, which burrow underground, and live on roots; both kinds are mischievous visitors to potato grounds, using their snouts to turn up the roots, which they afterwards devour. The flesh of the rabbit bandicoot is considered delicate. There is also an opossum mouse, a pretty miniature of the opossum; it is easily tamed, and lives on a substance called manna.

The wombat (*phascognomys*), is a very singular animal, which, when full grown, weighs nearly forty-three pounds, the largest, measure about thirty-two inches in length, and twenty-six inches in circumference. The head is large and flat, the neck thick and short, and the back arches to the loins. The fur is thick, strong, and of a light sandy or dark grey colour. The legs are extremely short; the ears sharp and erect; the eyes small and sunken, but lively; the feet are formed like those of a badger, and the mouth resembles that of a rabbit. The flesh has the flavour of that of the kangaroo, but is far more delicate. The food of the wombat consists principally of leaves and grass; its movements are awkward, hobbling or shuffling: it burrows, is mild and gentle in disposition, but bites hard when provoked, and, in common with many quadrupeds of this island, is a night animal.

The native porcupine (*ornithorynchus hystrix*), in size resembles the common hedgehog but the spines are ranged in

patches, having one longer than the others protruding from each of the centres; it is perfectly harmless; its natural food is ant eggs. That strange creature called the platypus (*ornithorhynchus paradoxus*), is found here, as in Australia. (See p. 735, Div. iv.)

Of domestic animals I need only observe, that all those of England have been introduced into the colony and thrive well; the breed of horses is excellent, and the condition of the horned cattle and sheep attest the salubrity of the climate, and the richness of the pasturage.

ORNITHOLOGY.—The feathered tribes are numerous, some of them are very handsome, but few can be considered melodious. The largest is the emu, which stands from four to six feet high, and is nearly allied to the ostrich in form and habits; differing from it, however, in some important respects, its covering having more the appearance of hair, or rather, thin strips of whalebone, than feathers; its wings are also much shorter, and as well as the tail, are entirely destitute of those beautiful feathers with which the ostrich is adorned; it is now fast disappearing. Parrots of various kinds, cockatoos, herons, swans, pelicans, &c., are very numerous, as will be seen in the subjoined enumeration of the birds of Van Diemen's Island, derived from the carefully prepared list given by the Rev. T. J. Ewing, in the *Tasmanian Journal of Science*:

Raptores.—The wedge-tail eagle; eagle hawk, and the sea-eagle. The fish-hawk, or white-headed eagle; the peregrine falcon of Tasmania (a rare bird); the little falcon; the lizard hawk; brown hawk; sparrow hawk (the most common species); the white and swamp hawk; the Boobook owl, and the little spotted owl.

Insectores — Dentiostres.—Whistling Dick, the native swallow, the summer bird, the mountain thrush, the spotted thrush or ground dove, the miner, the black-throated robin or ground-chat, the red-throated robin, the pink-breasted robin, the dusky robin, the superb warbler, the emu wren, the brown tail, the yellow tail, the mouse bird or bush sparrow, the silver eye or green linnet, the titlark, the red or green lark, the brown wren (very rare), the thick head or black-crown thrush, the native thrush, the crimson-rumped diamond bird, the striped-headed diamond bird, the forty spot, the fan tail, and the satin fly-catcher.

Coniostres.—The crow, the white magpie, the black magpie, the pied magpie, the butcher bird, and the fire-tail. **Scansores.**—The musk or forest parakeet, the blue mountain parakeet, the rose hill parakeet, the mountain or green parrot, the swift and the ground parakeet, the swamp and the orange-bellied parakeet, the white and the black cockatoo, the rose-crested cockatoo, and the grey, the brown, and the bronze cuckoo. **Tenuiostres.**—The Jew bird, the sawyer, honey-sucker, the wattle, and little wattle bird; the yellow-throat, the yellow-crowned honey-sucker, the black-cap, the cherry-picker, and the cobbler's

awl. **Fissirostres.**—The three-toed king-fisher, the more-pork (so called from its cry), the little goat-sucker, the wire-tailed swift, the swallow, and the martin. **Rasores.**—The brown, the stubble, and the painted quail; the emu, the bronze-winged, and the little bronze-winged pigeon.

Grallatores.—The heron, the bittern, the pied, and the black oyster-catcher; the bald sultan, the rail, land-rails, the snipe, the godwit, the sand-piper, the avoset, the curlew, the hooded, and the banded doturel; the large-billed doturel, the golden plover, and the spur-winged plover.

Natatores.—The black swan, the Cape Barren goose, the Australian pintail, the mountain, and the musk duck; the teal, the shoveler, the little, and the eared grebe; the large, the little, and the yellow-tufted penguin; the black and the white-bellied shag; the pelican, the southern gannet, the black-backed, and the silver gull; the Cape petrel, or pigeon, the wandering, and the sooty albatross; and four species of *thalassidroma*, whose names have not been made out.

In the above list, the wattle bird, which is about the size of a snipe, and considered a great delicacy, is the only one peculiar to Tasmania.

ICHTHOLOGY.—The seas around Van Diemen's Island abound with whales and seals; and its shores with shell-fish, particularly muscles—these last literally covering the rocks on its coasts, and in its bays, creeks, and harbours, where various descriptions adapted for food are readily procurable. Fishing, however, is a pursuit little followed in Tasmania, and, consequently, instead of a cheap and plentiful supply, but little is brought to market. The trumpeter is one of the most admired; and the other kinds are, salmon* (so called in the colony, but in reality a very poor fish), perch, rock-cod, bream, mullet, whittings, flat-heads, leather-jackets, taylors, parrots, guard-fish, cray-fish (nearly as good as lobsters), oysters (good and plentiful), eels, skate, and shrimps. Some years ago mackerel of a very small species were caught, but latterly they have not been known to approach the island. Black fish are plentiful in the Mersey, and generally weigh from five to fifteen pounds; they have no scales.

The rivers and lakes in the interior abound with very fine eels; but the other freshwater fish are worth little, except the mullet, of which a considerable quantity is annually caught near the falls at New Norfolk. They are in perfection from November to March, and afford sport to the angler, as they readily rise to the fly.

A fish found in the bays and on the shores of the island, and supposed to be a

* The true salmon is not found, I believe, south of the equator; the spawn might be conveyed to Van Diemen's Island in an egg-shell, hermetically sealed, and hatched under a hen, after the manner of the Chinese.

species of toad-fish, is a strong poison. This fish seldom exceeds five inches in length, which is disproportionate to its thickness; the back is spotted like tortoise-shell and of the same colour, the belly is white, resembling kid-skin.

The REPTILES and INSECTS are nearly similar to those of Australia (see Div. iv., p. 736); among the former are several descriptions of snakes, some of which are very venomous; the most common kinds being a large black snake, the diamond snake, and a smaller brown sort. A native brought to me, in Australia, a snake which measured fourteen feet; it resembled somewhat the boa-constrictor I had seen in Ceylon. The colour was very beautiful, chang-

ing rapidly as the reptile became irritated. After carefully securing it, I tried the effect of various poisons; some produced no effect—an infusion of tobacco made it very sick, but large doses of calomel soon destroyed life. The guanas and lizards are common, and considered perfectly innoxious; among the insects are centipedes of two sorts, scorpions and tarantulas; the latter may often be met with in rotten wood. There are also many curious and beautiful varieties of the beetle; three or four sorts of ants, some of which are an inch long, and sting sharply; and a variety of spiders. Bees introduced from England have multiplied with extraordinary rapidity, several swarms having been produced in one year from a single hive.

CHAPTER VI.

TRANSPORTATION—DIFFERENT MODES OF PENAL DISCIPLINE—PRESENT TREATMENT OF CONVICTS—SPIRITUAL AND SCHOLASTIC INSTRUCTION—PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON CRIME—EFFORTS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EFFECTIVE SECONDARY PUNISHMENTS.

IF in the progress of time it should be decreed in the infinite wisdom of the Omnipotent Ruler of nations, that the wide-spread, and to human eyes, deeply-rooted power of England, should, like that of Babylon and Nineveh, Tyre and Sidon, Rome and Athens, crumble into dust, her future historian may seek among the state archives, the evidences of her extensive dominion and commercial importance, or illustrate from the relics of the fine arts, the scientific acquirements and intellectual cultivation of her children; but if he be a christian, his inquiries will not stop there. Taught by Sacred Writ that "righteousness alone exalteth a nation," he will seek memorials of the "good works," which alike, in a State or an individual, are its legitimate fruits,—and ask, have the hungry been fed, the naked clothed, the sick succoured, and the poor had the gospel preached to them? What efforts, and in a worldly sense, what sacrifices has Britain made to instruct the ignorant—to protect infancy—to guard youth from pollution, and to sustain the feeble steps of age? Has she strenuously and consistently endeavoured to use the talents entrusted to her charge for the ad-

vancement, at home and abroad, of Christian civilization? Yet another question remains on a subject of extreme difficulty and vital importance, whether to a heathen or Christian state, but involving in the case of the latter, most solemn responsibilities, and affording a searching test of how far her practical legislation accords with her religious profession.

We know that "offences must come;"—that no human government can wholly prevent the commission of even heinous sin, although it may and does, by ordinances and penalties, impose upon it a salutary check. In what manner crime is to be dealt with, becomes therefore a necessary consideration; how on the one hand, society may be protected from its fearful inroads, and the evil-doer be made an example for the weak, the inexperienced, or the tempted, to shun and not imitate; how on the other, the miserable and misguided sinner himself may best be taught the foolishness of sin, and while enduring the sentence inflicted by the laws which he has violated, may be induced to seek for pardon from a far higher tribunal than that of man.

No surer test can be applied to the reli-

gious principles of an individual or of a nation, than the degree in which they lead to the overcoming evil with good; and the public who have so generously supported this extensive work from its very commencement, will not, I trust, deem time or space mis-spent or misemployed in the enquiry how far England has said to her very outcasts,—“Repent and turn yourselves from all your transgressions, so iniquity shall not be your ruin: cast away from you all your transgressions whereby ye have transgressed, and make you a new heart and a new spirit.”*

Desiring to offer on this important subject somewhat fuller details than would be otherwise consistent with the limits of this work, the following preliminary statements are given in small type:—

In the preceding volume, (Book II., New South Wales, ch. 1, p. 402), I have stated briefly the origin of transportation during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and likewise the objects which the government of King George the Third had in view when directing the formation of a penal settlement at Botany Bay, in 1786. Previous to this period, the only object of transportation seems to have been to get rid of criminals;—whether they perished at sea, or were sold into slavery, or became a curse and a plague wherever they landed, was equally immaterial to the authorities in England. Indeed, in the report of the select committee of the House of Commons on transportation, in 1838 (p. 1), it is stated that under the statute of 4 Geo. 1, c. 11, “offenders were *put up to auction*, and sold by the persons who undertook to transport them as bondsmen for the period of their sentences.”

The philanthropist Howard, when sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1773, found the prisons similar to those of China at the present moment, of whose condition some idea may be formed from the fact of the same word in the Chinese language signifying *gaol* and *hell*. His examinations of the prisons and Bridewells of England, revealed a dreadful state of neglect and a vast amount of human suffering. Many who entered them in health, were in a few months reduced to emaciation; some were seen expiring on the floors, of pestilential diseases and confluent small-pox, and the loathsome cells became the hot-beds of a fearful distemper termed the “gaol fever,” which slew thousands. Most of the prisons were scantily provided, and some almost destitute of the necessaries of life; without a supply of water within their walls; devoid of bedding or straw; the windows closed up to evade the window tax, while the prisoners, who ought to have been set to work, and who had means of their own, spent their time in sloth, debauchery, and all sorts of vice. There was no distinction of classes, the murderer, the misdemeanant, the debtor, the hoary-headed villain, the profligate and the destitute woman, the comparatively pure and innocent youth, were all thrust into the same den, to “rot or starve,” according to the caprice or interest of the

gaolers of the several county prisons, to whom the unhappy and neglected wretches were generally “farmed out,” at so much per head. Whoever wishes to contrast the period most erroneously termed the *good old times* with the present, need hardly desire a more striking illustration than the conduct pursued by our ancestors, with regard to criminals, affords to the present system, which however is comparatively of recent introduction; the reformation in prisons and prison discipline having been mainly effected within the memory of the existing generation. On this point, the testimony of Mr. Serjeant Adams is very forcible. This able exponent of criminal law, stated before the select committee of the House of Lords, 12th March, 1847, that he “was old enough to remember the condemned cells in Warwick gaol, where prisoners were thrust after sentence to drag out the remnant of their earthly existence in darkness and terror. Imprisonment at that time was accompanied with every species of aggravation and cruelty; in dungeons and darkness, with chains, starvation and torture, terror was the ruling principle; moral influence was unheard of.”

The earliest symptoms of an awakening sense of this important and too long neglected duty, was manifested by an examination of the gaols throughout the kingdom, and by a declaration in 1786, of the objects for which a penal colony was to be founded in Australia, namely, “to provide for the *progressive and ultimate reformation*, as well as the safe custody and punishment of the criminals.

This official declaration was, however, not accompanied by the practical efforts necessary to the accomplishment of its benevolent purport; and I have shewn in the New South Wales division of this work (pp. 409—417), the neglect evinced by the home authorities to the moral and spiritual wants of the convicts sent to New South Wales and to Van Diemen’s Island.

To the credit of several gentlemen in Australia, among whom may be mentioned Archdeacon (now Bishop) Broughton; Judge Burton; the Rev. Mr. Ullathorne, the Roman catholic vicar-general; Sir R. Bourke, the governor of New South Wales, and Sir G. Arthur, the lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen’s Island, strenuous endeavours were made to awaken the home government to a sense of its duties. These efforts were at length successful,—Lord Glenelg and Mr. (now Sir James) Stephen, her Majesty’s secretary and under-secretary of state for the colonies, commenced a series of efficient measures, which have been since then unremittingly pursued by their successors, in these arduous and responsible offices.

It is necessary to remark that the governors of New South Wales and the lieutenant-governors of Van Diemen’s Island, from the period of the formation of these colonies as penal settlements, never received from the government at home any body of instructions for their guidance with regard to the discipline and treatment of convicts, until Lord Stanley, in November, 1842, framed his system, and forwarded it to Sir John Franklin, then lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen’s Island. The reason assigned for this strange neglect of a matter of the highest importance, is that although it devolved upon the secretaries of state for the colonial and home departments, it was not regarded as properly belonging to either, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, declining the attempt to control the conduct of officers with whom he did not correspond, and who were not subject to

* Ezekiel xviii., 27—32.

his authority; the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the same manner refusing to direct or initiate measures on a subject affecting British rather than Colonial interests, and therefore foreign to his duties as head of the colonial department. There was necessarily no stability of purpose whatever in convict management: it was left to the discretion of successive governors, and it seldom happened that during his tenure of office any governor adopted the measures of his immediate predecessor. All the varying plans for the treatment of convicts were of local origin, had mostly for their object local interests, and were executed wholly at the expense of the British Treasury, on whom enormous charges consequently devolved.

This absence of any known and permanent system was among the leading causes of the serious evils, respecting which much misconception and many erroneous statements prevailed in this country. The Archbishop of Dublin in the House of Peers, and Sir William Molesworth in the House of Commons, having directed the attention of the legislature to the subject, a select committee in 1837-8, elicited most distressing facts of a peculiar nature; but it is much to be regretted that the decided bias of the committee against transportation induced them to decline receiving evidence demonstrative of the good that had most certainly been thereby produced; led them to place on record one-sided statements calculated to affix a stigma on the character of the free population, and to adopt the following somewhat summary recommendations:—

1. That transportation to New South Wales, and to the settled districts of Van Diemen's Land, should be discontinued as soon as practicable.

2. That crimes now punishable by transportation should in future be punished by confinement with hard labour, at home or abroad, for periods varying from two to fifteen years.

3. That for the purpose of effectually maintaining discipline and subordination among the convicts sentenced to confinement abroad, of promoting the legitimate ends for which punishment is inflicted, and also of preventing a recurrence of those social evils which have been found by experience to result from transportation as hitherto conducted, the penitentiaries or houses of confinement that may be established abroad, shall (so far as possible) be strictly limited to those places wherein there are at present no free settlers, and wherein effectual security can be taken against the future resort of such settlers.

4. That rules should be established by which the existing practice of abridging the periods of punishment of convicts in consequence of their good conduct, may be brought under stricter regulation, and rendered less vague and arbitrary.

5. That on account of the difficulty which a convict finds in this country in procuring the means of honest livelihood after the expiration of his sentence, and on account of the temptations to which he is thereby exposed, it would be advantageous to establish a plan by which a convict might receive encouragement to leave the country with the prospect of supporting himself by regular industry, and ultimately regaining the place in society which he had forfeited by crime. That if such encouragement were limited to convicts who should have conducted themselves uniformly well during their confinement, it might at the same time operate as an encouragement to good behaviour during confinement, and might considerably diminish the prejudice which

must to a certain degree attach to any person known to have been convicted of a serious offence.

6. That the convicts who have been punished abroad should be compelled to leave the settlement in which they have been punished within a limited period after the expiration of their sentences, and that means should be afforded them by the government for this purpose.

In addition to these specific points the committee urged that "in order to give this experiment a fair chance of success, *much more ample provision* for moral and religious instruction should likewise be made than has been possible for convicts scattered over the extensive surface of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Island."

The partial testimony received and promulgated by the select committee of the House of Commons on transportation in 1837-8, and the refusal of that committee to hear counter-evidence, which would have set forth the whole truth, produced in Van Diemen's Island "serious and heart-felt grief, mixed with honest indignation," such as I have stated in the previous volume (p. 418) to have been excited in New South Wales. A public meeting was immediately called by the free inhabitants, who declared that "the statements set forth by the select committee were without foundation," and they implored their lieutenant-governor, Sir John Franklin, who had then (7th Sept., 1838,) been eighteen months among them, to "do them justice, and make public his opinion of their social, moral, and religious character, so far as the originally free population was concerned." Sir John Franklin promptly responded to this appeal, and gave his high testimony strongly in favour of the "moral and intellectual respectability of the community, whose interests had become his own," and declared that the "free community of Van Diemen's Island need not shrink from a comparison with any population in Great Britain."

In order that the system pursued in Van Diemen's Island and New South Wales at the period of the report of the parliamentary committee of 1838 may be understood and contrasted with that now in operation, I subjoin an outline of the plan then in operation. All male and female convicts on arriving in Van Diemen's Island, without reference to previous circumstances, were either assigned as servants to private individuals, under stipulated regulations, or if there were no demand for their services, they were fed, clothed, and lodged in barracks at the cost of the crown until such demand arose. The assigned were required to live under the roof of their employers; they received no wages for their labour, could not work for themselves, be out at night, or go any where without a pass; were liable to be flogged or imprisoned on the complaint of their master, who on his part was bound to provide his assigned servants annually with two suits of apparel (that of the females not to exceed £7 in value), with proper bedding, and to allow the *males* 10½ lbs. meat, 10½ lbs. flour, 7 oz. sugar, 3½ oz. soap, and 2 oz. salt; and the *females* 8½ lbs. flour, 5½ lbs. meat, 2 oz. tea, 8 oz. sugar, 2 oz. soap, and 1½ oz. salt. The prisoners not assigned were divided into six classes; the first might sleep out of barracks and work for themselves the whole of each Saturday; the second must sleep in barracks, but were likewise allowed to work for themselves on each Saturday; the third, employed on the public works, were released from labour every Saturday at noon, subject to the condition of good behaviour; the fourth class consisted of refractory

or disorderly characters, and were worked in irons either in the towns or on the roads under the sentence of a magistrate; the fifth, a still more degraded class, were also worked in irons and kept entirely separate from other prisoners; the sixth were removed to the penal settlements at Macquarie Harbour or Port Arthur for a definite term, and there classified and worked at the discretion of the commandant, generally a military officer; none but the prisoners and their guards were suffered to remain at these settlements, the labour of the convicts was of the severest description, in cutting timber, &c., and they were subjected to the most severe coercion. A prisoner might ascend or descend through these six classes: if he conducted himself ill, the dreaded seclusion, and punishment of a purely penal settlement were inevitable; if on the other hand his character was marked by progressive improvement, he became eligible for petty employment in the post-office, police, &c., and continued good behaviour would obtain for him the much-prized boon of a "ticket-of-leave," and eventually a conditional or unconditional pardon. A convict sentenced to seven years' transportation could not receive a ticket of leave until he had been *four* years in the colony; if for fourteen years, *six*; if for life, *eight* years. Pardons or emancipations might be attained by those transported for fourteen years, at the end of two-thirds of their sentence; by those under life sentences at the termination of twelve years' good conduct; but one single record of misbehaviour, no matter how slight its nature, would forfeit his claim, and throw back the period of his pardon to an indefinite time.

In 1833, the number of convicts in Van Diemen's Island, subject to this course of treatment, was 15,700; of these, 11,021 were in private service, assigned to various individuals, and supported without charge to the government; 4,679 were supported by government, and of these 478 were at penal settlements, 741 in chain-gangs, 999 on roads, 372 in houses of correction. The average expense of each convict in the colony was £4 6s. 1d.; of each convict maintained by government, including provisions, buildings, clothing, superintendence, &c., £14 9s. According to the payments from the Military Chest for 1833, the average charge to each convict, £6 10s. 4d. In 1835, the average expense of each convict in the island was, £6 1s. 10d.; and of those maintained by government, £18 7s. 8d., the increase being caused by the higher price of meat and flour.

It will be perceived, that under the system explained, the evil of mutual contamination was to a great extent avoided; an assigned convict was cut off from his former evil associates, and if a man of good disposition, he had every prospect of learning industrial habits, and of building up, as it were, a new character. The prospect of a ticket of leave depended on the favourable report of his master, and self-interest as well as right feeling, combined to urge him onwards in a career of reformation. Whatever may be alleged in theory against the system which made the penalties of crime to consist in transportation across the seas, long years of unrewarded labour, accom-

panied by rigid penal surveillance, and the fear of aggravated punishment in the event of aggravated crime, the practical experience of more than half a century in New South Wales and in Van Diemen's Island, demonstrates among its results, that thousands of convicted felons have been thereby reclaimed, enabled to commence a new career, and ultimately to become good citizens, and the fathers of respectable families.

Having now explained the past system, I shall endeavour to place before my readers, in chronological order, the successive changes which have been made in the penal discipline of Van Diemen's Island.

The examination, by the committee of the House of Commons, of the whole subject of transportation, led Sir John Franklin, as lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Island, to suggest to Lord Glenelg, then his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, several alterations in the existing policy, viz.—1st. That the assignment of convicts to be employed for purposes of luxury, or as domestic servants, should be discontinued. 2nd. That all convicts, before being assigned, should be coerced in gangs, under the immediate control of the local government: these gangs to be kept separate from the twice-convicted or punishment gangs. 3rd. A division of the ticket-of-leave prisoners into two classes; the first to be entitled to a certain maximum amount of wages, and to choose their own master, subject to the approval of the chief police magistrate; the second class to be enabled to hold property, real or personal, to attend only the annual muster, to change their residence at their own option, and not to be liable to lose their tickets-of-leave, unless by sentence of the supreme court. These suggestions were approved by Lord Glenelg, on the 6th of July, 1838, and carried into effect on the 17th of January, 1839.

On the 15th of February, 1839, Sir John Franklin stated his reasons for opposing the entire abandonment of the assignment system; and urged some farther modifications of the penal discipline, of which the chief were—the distribution of the convicts, on their arrival in Van Diemen's Island, into isolated, primary or probationary gangs, of about 300 men each, to be conducted as much as possible on the separate system, and employed, at a distance from the settled districts, in clearing and draining, and opening communications to, lands for sale; each gang to be superintended by a half-pay

officer and six overseers, attended by a clergyman, and regularly visited by a magistrate. The conduct of every man to be daily recorded, and the balance of good and bad days to be struck every week, and posted in a ledger. Whenever this record should shew that a convict had to his credit as many good days or weeks as might be equal to one-tenth of the whole term of his sentence (a life sentence being counted as twenty years), he was to be permitted to go into service; to choose a master, qualified by the quarter sessions record with reference to character or the possession of land; and to receive, besides rations, wages; not, however, to exceed £12 per annum. In the event of misconduct, to be dealt with as a convict; but in the case of continued good behaviour for two, three, or four years, to receive, successively, the first and second tickets of leave, before mentioned. If unable to obtain or to retain employment, to return to his gang, or to a separate gang, consisting of other candidates for private service, working within a convenient distance of the settled districts. In this despatch, as also in others, Sir John Franklin, while advocating the propriety of inspiring the mind of the convict with the motives for outward improvement, by making good conduct the sure means of bettering his temporal position, did not omit to express his conviction, that it was undoubtedly the duty of the government to aim at higher results; "for the criminal is, equally with others, within the reach of the gracious designs of Providence; and motives deduced from the gospel, therefore, should be assiduously impressed upon his mind, and cultivated there."* In another place, the lieutenant-governor says—"I am convinced, that were £2,000 per annum expended by her Majesty's government in supporting ten pious and zealous ministers, to be employed, in the interior of this colony, in preaching daily, not in churches, but to the convicts in the houses of the settlers, the benefit to be derived from such a measure would be very great."

The subject was, meanwhile, much discussed at home. On the 23rd of November, 1838, Viscount Howick (now Earl Grey) set forth, in a "Memorandum," his opinions on what he assumed to be the object then in view, namely—"gradually to substitute the punishment of well-regulated imprisonment, at home or abroad, for that of trans-

portation, as now (then) conducted." The bias of mind evinced therein is evidently in favour of a modified system of transportation, as the penalty of heinous offences; but even in extreme cases, his lordship entirely condemned the practice of leaving "the transport for life no prospect but that of wearing out a miserable existence in the most cruel and hopeless bondage;" and therefore recommends the hope of "some termination to their punishment being held out to the most heinous offenders," as an incitement to good conduct.

The leading propositions stated in the memorandum were—1st, the "construction of penitentiaries at home; say, one in England for 1,000 prisoners; one in Ireland for 600 prisoners, and one in Scotland for 400 prisoners: 2nd, the number of convicts sent to the hulks, at home and at Bermuda, to be increased: 3rd, due preparations for the reception of an increased number of convicts of the worst class to be immediately made in Norfolk Island; the system there pursued to be materially altered, prisoners being no longer to be sent there for life, but even the worst class to be recommended for pardon at the expiration of not more than fifteen years; those sentenced for less serious crimes to obtain their pardon in proportionally shorter periods, but none of those sent to this island in a less time than five or six years;" and lastly, that the practice of assigning convicts should be discontinued as far as possible, and a system of discipline introduced in the management of the road and chain-gangs, which should render the labour of the convicts, more productive, and mitigate the evils of their unrestrained intercourse with each other, where such intercourse should be unavoidable.

In January, 1839, Lord John Russell, then secretary of state for the home department, took into consideration the changes proposed by the transportation committee in 1838 (see p. 90), but deemed the subject of such magnitude, that he did not think it advisable to adopt alterations so extensive, without calling the attention of the government to the existing evils, and to their proposed remedy. His lordship therefore drew up "a note on transportation and secondary punishment," for the consideration of his colleagues; the substance of this note (now before me) was to the following effect:—His lordship, began by stating, that the changes made, both in the law and in the

* Despatch to Lord Glenelg March 11, 1839.

practice, with respect to capital crimes, by which the great mass of offenders were left liable to penalties only short of death, rendered the question of secondary punishment one of very great importance; for instance seventeen executions had taken place in England and Wales in 1836; eight in 1837, and in 1838, only six. Without assenting to the justice of all the representations contained in the House of Commons' committee report, transportation was liable to the objections,—1st, that crime was not punished as crime; 2nd, that assignment like slavery varied according to the temper and character of the master to whom the convict might be assigned, and was therefore unequal as a punishment; 3rd, that the good fortune of many of the convicts destroyed the dread of transportation among habitual and hardened criminals; and 4th, that "while such was the negative effect at home, the positive effect in the penal colonies was most injurious; the masters of slaves imbibing the vices belonging to that condition, the slaves themselves losing all self-respect, and a society contaminated in its infancy, and fed with new streams of pollution in its progress, was created by the express acts of the British Parliament, and carried into effect by the executive government. Lord John Russell then proceeds in this "Note" to quote the declarations of the bishop and of the chief-justice of New South Wales, in which they deny the correctness of the picture of the state of society in the penal colonies, presented in the House of Commons' report; but he frankly avows that these declarations "exhibit in a striking light the total forgetfulness of religion, which existed in the original settlement of the colony, and the culpable negligence of the British government until the last twelve or fifteen years." (See p. 412, Div. iii.) The noble writer then examines with his usual ability, the economical part of the subject, and the comparative cost of keeping the convicts at home, or sending them abroad; deciding in favour of the latter; and after a clear and impartial summary of the opinions of different authorities, his lordship, with "much diffidence and hesitation," proceeds to give an outline of the measures proposed; namely, that convicts sentenced to seven years, should be employed in the hulks and at Bermuda, to undergo two years' confinement certain, at the most irksome description of labour, their conduct to be ascertained, and recorded daily by marks; after

these two years, a period of probation to be entered on, the character of each one to be then composed of three recorded facts,—1st, their crime; 2nd, character previous to conviction; 3rd, conduct during punishment: the probationary period to be alleviated by the mitigation of coercion, or a lighter species of labour, and in some cases, a part of the convict's earnings to be saved and placed to his account until further good conduct might justify an extension of mercy to his case. The same principle to be adopted with convicts transported for more than seven years, but their punishment to be undergone in Norfolk Island or Tasman's peninsula, or in a *new* colony to be formed in Australia; their periods of probation to be passed either at those stations, or in public works in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Island.

A penitentiary to be built in some part of the United Kingdom for 500 or 1,000 prisoners, on the separate system, for which many convicts would be proper subjects, who from age, or infirmity, might be unable to undergo the fatigues consequent on a long voyage, and yet were not fit objects of mercy.

After grave and long-continued consideration, her Majesty's ministers determined upon the construction of a prison at Pentonville, adapted for the purposes of isolated confinement, and its supervision was placed under the control of a commission, consisting of several distinguished members of the legislature, and other gentlemen who were known to have paid much attention to the difficult question of secondary punishments.

In May, 1839, the Marquess of Normanby, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, officially informed the governor of New South Wales, and the Lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Island, of the intentions of her Majesty's government in several important respects, namely, the gradual abolition of assignment with a view to its ultimate abandonment; a diminution for the future in the number of prisoners to be transported, of whom as large a portion as could be received were to be sent to Norfolk Island, a fixed period of imprisonment to be allotted in the first instance as the punishment of crime, but the actual term to be liable to a subsequent abridgment, according to the previous character, nature of crime, and conduct of criminals during punishment; no prisoner to be detained in Norfolk Island longer than fifteen years,

and when allowed to leave to enjoy advantages at least equal to those involved in a ticket of leave; and the "opposite faults of over-severity and over-indulgence to be carefully avoided as alike destructive of any good effect on the prisoners."

In September, 1840, Lord John Russell, then her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote to Sir John Franklin, informing him (in conformity with an order of the Queen in council, dated 22nd May, 1840,) that transportation to New South Wales was at an end, and that Norfolk Island, Tasman's Peninsula, in Van Diemen's Island, and Bermuda, were the places abroad in which confinement was hereafter to take place. Tickets of leave were to be divided into *several stages*; the convicts under probation to be worked in parties and receive wages for clearing lands, making roads, fencing, draining, &c.; in the first and second stages they were to deposit in the colonial savings' banks a portion of their earnings, to be returned when they arrived at their highest stage.

In June, 1841, Mr. M. Forster, the director of the probation system, laid down certain rules and regulations for the government of the probation gangs, in accordance with which, agreeably to the instructions received from Lord J. Russell, the practice of employing convict overseers was to be discontinued; each probation gang to have a religious instructor as well as a working superintendent, and to be divided into three classes, of which the one composed of the worst characters was to be conducted wholly on the separate system; convicts comprised in the others to be "huttet" in parties of ten to twenty each, but even with them complete separation to be adopted as quickly as possible; watching, cooking, hut-keeping, &c., to be performed by all the men of the gang in turns.

In November, 1842, Lord Stanley, having succeeded Lord John Russell in the colonial department,* assumed for the reasons before

stated (p. 89) the entire superintendence and responsibility of the penal settlements, the pardons of convicts were nevertheless still to be referred to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and alterations in the general scheme of prison discipline in the colonies were to be concerted between the two secretaries of state.

On 25th November, 1842, Lord Stanley communicated to Sir J. Franklin the views of Sir Robert Peel and her Majesty's ministers, respecting the system of convict discipline to be forthwith adopted, which may be summarily stated to consist in requiring each convict to pass through five distinct stages, from the commencement of his sentence to the attainment of a pardon, namely—1. Detention at Norfolk Island; 2. Probation gang at Van Diemen's Island; 3. Probation pass; 4. Ticket of leave; 5. Pardon, either conditional or absolute. The probation gangs were to be established in different parts of the island; mitigation of toil and petty indulgences to be awarded to the convict according to his conduct in this stage of punishment, from which he might attain comparative freedom as a passholder, becoming thereby entitled to hire himself out in private service, under legal contract made with his employer by the comptroller-general of convicts, as his guardian. This grade to be divided into three classes;—the lowest to pay all their wages into the convict department; the second class, a third part of their wages; and the third class to be permitted to retain the whole of their wages. The money thus paid into the convict department might be forfeited if the conduct of the depositor should cause him to be returned to the probation gangs, otherwise, it would be refunded to him on his obtaining the further indulgence of a ticket-of-leave, whereby he would become a free man, as regarded the community at large—could hold property, and maintain, in his own person, suits at law;† could hire himself to whom he pleased, without con-

* The date of accession to office of the several successive Secretaries of State for the Colonies, since the formation of the Colonial Department, are as follows:—Lord Hobart, 1801; Marquis Camden, May 14, 1804; Viscount Castlereagh, July 10, 1805; Right Hon. Wm. Wyndham, February 5, 1806; Viscount Castlereagh, March 25, 1807; Earl of Liverpool, October 11, 1809; Earl Bathurst, June 11, 1812; Viscount Goderich, April 30, 1827; Right Hon. Wm. Huskisson, September 3, 1827; Sir George Murray, May 30, 1828; Viscount Goderich, May 22, 1830; Right Hon. E. G. Stanley (now Lord Stanley), April 3, 1833; Right Hon. T. S. Rice (now

Lord Monteagle), June 5, 1834; Earl of Aberdeen, December 20, 1834; Right Hon. C. Grant (now Lord Glenelg), April 18, 1835; Marquis of Normanby, February 20, 1839; Lord John Russell, September 20, 1839; Lord Stanley, September 3, 1841; Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, December 23, 1845; Earl Grey, July 6, 1846.

† By act 2 & 3 Wm. IV., c. 62, whereby provision is made for the abolition of the punishment of death in certain cases, and the substitution of a lesser punishment in its stead, it was among other things enacted that the governors of a penal settlement could not give a pardon or ticket-of-leave until the

trol or limitation: but should he commit any crime or offence deemed deserving of such punishment, the government could throw him back on the previous stages of either a passholder or probation man. Each probation gang to have a clergyman or a schoolmaster attached; reading and writing to be taught to the convicts after work; a rigid system of discipline to be maintained; religious instruction carefully attended to; and the whole placed under the direct management of a comptroller-general.

No convict was to obtain a ticket-of-leave before half the term of his original sentence had expired; and in case of persons sentenced for life, that indefinite term was to be counted as *twenty-four years*. No conditional pardon was to be granted to a ticket-of-leave holder, unless he had held it for three months, eight months, one year, or two years, according as his original sentence might have been for seven, ten, fifteen years, or for life. Under the operation of this rule, a convict sentenced for seven years was compelled to serve four years and nine months; if for ten years, six years and eight months; if for fifteen years, ten years; and if sentenced for life, fifteen years must elapse before he could receive the final indulgence of a pardon for good conduct. To these periods about one year would be added before the authority of the crown could be received for the issue of the pardon.

The desired effect of the whole scheme was to impose a very formidable punishment at the commencement of a convict's sentence, which should gradually relax in severity with the lapse of time, each successive mitigation being expedited by good conduct, or retarded by bad. The probation gangs were deemed the pivot of the system, as all would necessarily, in passing through them, be observed, closely superintended, and person, if transported for seven years, should have served four years; if for fourteen years, six years; if for life, eight years of labour; and that no such person shall be capable of acquiring or holding any property, or of bringing any action for the recovery of any property until he should have obtained a pardon. By act 6 Vict., c. 7 (3rd of April, 1843), the power delegated by the crown to governors of granting pardons was revoked, and they could only recommend such persons as were deemed worthy of that boon, the decision of her Majesty being conveyed through one of the secretaries of state. The enactment by which ticket-of-leave prisoners were disqualified from acquiring or holding personal property, or of maintaining an action for the recovery of the same, was also revoked, it being deemed "just that they should be protected in their persons and in the

brought within the reach of moral and religious influences. To this primary stage, from which all would be anxious to emerge, the incorrigible and refractory might be sent back—a punishment the most easily inflicted, the most formidable, and which was expected to prove the most effective. The working of the system was divisible into six heads, and information was expected on the following points:—1. Condition of the convicts; 2. Working of the system; 3. Results of experience in detecting errors; 4. Best means of correcting them; 5. State, efficiency, and expense of each department; 6. Most effectual method of promoting economy and efficiency in this branch of the service.

It seems scarcely possible to have devised a plan more theoretically complete; yet, in its practical working, it fostered the most fearful social evils; for there is abundant, and very painful evidence, that great immorality and crime took place among the convicts thus herded together in gangs. The documents laid before parliament, and the facts collected by the Rev. H. P. Fry, A.B., prove this beyond dispute.*

In addition to the rapid influx of convicts in 1842, '3, '4, '5, rendering it difficult for the existing amount of free labour in the colony to find remunerative employment, the island suffered pecuniarily by commercial embarrassment, and by the check which its prosperity received from the high price put upon the sale of the crown lands, which completely stopped free emigration. The convicts who went into the interior to procure work, were therefore obliged to return to the "hiring depôts," where the government was bound to support them. The state of the colony became more and more alarming; transportation was suspended to Van Diemen's Island; and towards the close of 1845, Lord Stanley possession of such property as they might acquire by their industry, while holding such tickets of leave;" but whenever such ticket-of-leave should be revoked, all property so acquired by any such felon shall vest absolutely in her Majesty, and be disposed of at the discretion of the governor, subject to instructions from the secretary of state." By this act a ticket-of-leave holder is nevertheless declared incapable of holding real property—i. e., "of acquiring or holding any estate in lands or tenements, other than as tenant for years."

* I am unwilling to do more than refer to these documents, for the details they contain are loathsome and repulsive in the extreme, and the crimes of which they treat are quite unfit subjects for discussion in a work written for the many, not the few.

expressed his conviction, that it became an indispensable duty promptly to make some effective provision for relieving Van Diemen's Island from the constant and increasing pressure of the large body of pardoned convicts who were vainly seeking the means of an independent and honest subsistence: he, therefore, proposed to found a new colony on the east coast of Australia, of which the southern boundary should be the 26th degree of latitude; the settlement to be called *North Australia*, to be chiefly, but not exclusively, a receptacle and place of refuge for liberated convicts or "exiles," male and female, with a local government on a very frugal scale; the prisoners, on landing, to receive pardons, and for one year after arrival to be provided with rations, clothing, tools, seats, bedding, and tents for immediate shelter; such allowances to terminate three years after the foundation of the colony. The exiles receiving rations to be bound to work, not only in preparing their own habitations, but also in effecting such public works as might be deemed absolutely necessary. The despatches dated September and 21st November, 1845, in which the views and policy of Lord Stanley are expounded, are masterly state papers, especially the former, which received the strongly-expressed encomium of Sir James Graham, then her Majesty's Secretary of State for the home department, who concurred in the opinions therein expressed.

Mr. Gladstone, who succeeded Lord Stanley in the Colonial Department, prepared in May, 1846, to carry out his views with respect to the planting of the North Australian colony by "exiles," at Wide or Hervey Bay, for which the assent of the Lords of the Treasury was obtained on the 2nd of February, 1846, and letters patent were accordingly issued by the crown. The male "exiles" were to receive each, allotments of five to ten acres of land, to be paid for after the lapse of three years, by regular instalments; purchasers of twenty to forty acres were to spread their half-yearly payments over a period of ten years. While these and other measures were in progress, the ministry to which the right honourable gentleman belonged was terminated by the retirement of Sir Robert Peel, and the accession of Lord John Russell. Mr. Gladstone was, however, long enough in office to evince an anxious desire to follow out the just and liberal views of his predecessor, and the despatches which he

transmitted to the colonies bear strong testimony to the opinions he had uniformly expressed concerning the necessity of making the spiritual condition of the provinces a primary consideration.

Earl Grey succeeded Mr. Gladstone. I have previously shown, that when Viscount Howick, his lordship had acquired a considerable knowledge of colonial affairs, had sat as a member of the House of Commons' transportation committee, in 1837-8, and from the commencement of his public life had devoted high faculties, great energy, and untiring business habits, to all subjects affecting the poor and suffering classes of society. On assuming the seals of office, Earl Grey concurred with Lord Stanley in the necessity of suspending transportation to Van Diemen's Island, and declared the intention of her Majesty to do so altogether for two years; but on the 15th of November, 1846, his lordship announced the dissent of the new ministry to the design proposed by Lord Stanley, and partially carried into operation, of establishing the settlement on North Australia, as being an "impolitic and needless measure;" the letters patent, which had been issued were, therefore, under the advice of her Majesty's confidential advisers, revoked. The "probationary system" having proved (in some respects) so deeply injurious, the difficult question of secondary punishments seemed more perplexed than ever; at length, the following changes were resolved upon:—1st. That penal labour should be inflicted at home, previous to deportation, because a more vigilant and careful superintendence could be carried out in England, than was possible in a distant colony. 2nd. That penal labour should be preceded by separate confinement in properly constructed prisons for a limited period. 3rd. That after prisoners had endured the separate confinement and hard labour, they should not be sent out as convicts, but as "exiles." A bill in conformity with these intentions was therefore laid before parliament in 1847; objections to it were taken in both houses of the legislature, and a select committee was appointed by the Lords, for the better understanding of the subject. In the meantime, public opinion in the colonies pronounced against the plan, unless tried with various modifications.

In 1848 it was decided that convicts, after suffering a certain degree of punishment at home, should be sent to the colo-

nies; and, in order to provide the means of inflicting this sufficient degree of punishment, by a system of separate imprisonment, her Majesty's government, in 1850, introduced and carried through parliament a "Convict Prisons' bill," for the purpose of placing Pentonville, Parkhurst (the gaol for juvenile offenders), Millbank, and the Portland Island hulks and establishment, under the control of commissioners appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department.* These four prisons contained about 5,500 convicts sentenced to various periods of transportation, and the necessity became evident, that they should be governed on a uniform system. By means of solitary cells in these gaols, and by arrangements with several of the county prisons, whereby about 2,000 additional cells were placed at the disposal of her Majesty's government, it was determined to subject each convict under sentence of transportation, to twelve or eighteen months' solitary confinement. There are satisfactory grounds for believing that the seclusion of a criminal for a limited period, is the most efficacious reformatory discipline to which he can be subjected; this is indicated by the small number of re-committals of persons who have endured it, in comparison with those who have suffered other descriptions of secondary punishment. Shakspeare has well said, that "conscience doth make cowards of us all;" and the convicted criminal certainly forms no exception to the axiom placed by him in the mouth of the guilty Macbeth, for there is conclusive evidence that a felon would

far prefer the scanty food, the sloth, the filth, the vermin, of such a place as Newgate, where he might gamble for his supper, learn new tricks, instruct the novice, sing, play, and quarrel, by turns, in the night-room, to the wholesome diet, cleanliness, and comparative comfort, of a prison, in which he would be separated from all his fellow-criminals, and left to his own reflections.

After undergoing solitary confinement for twelve or eighteen months—which appears to be the longest period any man is capable of sustaining it, without serious and permanent injury to his mental and corporeal system—the convict is to be employed at public works, such as the Harbour of Refuge at Portland, on the south coast of England, where, under the excellent superintendence of Captain Whitty, upwards of one thousand male prisoners have been occupied during the past year.

Another feature of what, for the sake of clearness, I may term the newly adopted system for punishing and reforming convicts at home, is, I believe, to keep a considerable number at Dartmoor, where the French prisoners were confined during the last war. The existing prisons are large, and capable of subdivision, so that prisoners may be classified and separated. The area of Dartmoor is about 100 miles square; its mean height above the level of the sea, 1,200 feet. A large part of the surface consists of peat bogs, varying in depth from two to twenty feet, and minerals are said to abound; ancient shafts are not unfrequently exposed. It is proposed to reclaim Dartmoor, by draining and divesting it of

* It may be necessary here to state, that of late years the condition of the gaols in the United Kingdom has engaged the attention of Parliament more than any other subject. In 1822 a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the state of prisoners and prison discipline in England and Wales, and in 1823 an act (4 Geo. IV. c. 64) was brought into Parliament by the late Sir Robert Peel, which declared that "due classification, inspection, separation, regular labour, employment, and religious and moral instruction, are essential to the discipline of a prison, and for the reformation of offenders; and that the laws ought to be so amended as would uniformly and strictly carry into effect such a system." By this legislative enactment, all the previous acts relating to prisons were consolidated or amended. In 1835 a comprehensive report of the House of Lords on prison discipline, strongly insisted upon the necessity of hard labour, religious instruction, and separation, with a view to prevent contamination. The act 5 & 6 Wm. IV., c. 36 (1835), gave power to the Secretary of State to lay down rules for the management of prisons, and to appoint inspectors. By

the act 2 & 3 Vict., c. 56 (1839), individual separation is permitted in prisons, when a certificate of the general fitness of the cells shall have been obtained from the Secretary of State. Between 1822 and 1850, there have been several committees of both houses of Parliament, and the general views expressed may be summed up in the words of the report of the committee of the House of Commons, dated the 29th of July, 1850, namely, that "a great majority of convicted prisoners are open to the same good motives and good impulses which influence other human beings, and therefore that a system of encouragement to good conduct and endeavours to inspire feelings of self-respect, self-reliance, and hopefulness for the future, which have been tried in some of our largest establishments, ought to be adopted, so far as it is practicable, without impairing the penal and deterring character essential to any system of imprisonment." And the committee further declared their opinion, "that under any system of discipline, the best practicable arrangements should be made for the instruction of all prisoners in their religious and moral duties."

the superincumbent peat-moss. The labour of the prisoners may thus be rendered useful, and the convicts, by continuous agricultural industry, weaned from criminal habits, and so instructed as to be enabled to procure eventually an honest livelihood in the distant agricultural possessions of the crown. The project is good in principle, and likely to prove efficient in practice; for there appears no better prospect of a man of vicious habits being reclaimed, and the moral energies necessary for the conquest of his evil passions, called into existence and strengthened, than by some employment connected with the tillage of the soil, where the wonderful designs of his Maker are continually manifested, where seed time and harvest have their appointed seasons, and where the merciful provision for human wants, hidden in the bosom of this fruitful earth, testifies the will of the Creator, that man should eat bread by the sweat of his brow. The monotonous labour of quarrying stones, and rolling them into the sea for a breakwater, affords far less opportunity for influences of this nature.

To return—prisoners who prove incorrigible in the gaols of the United Kingdom, or during employment on public works at home, at Gibraltar, or at Bermuda, are sent to Norfolk Island; those male convicts in Van Diemen's Island, who become too refractory for the probation gangs, or commit fresh crimes, are forwarded to Port Arthur, and subjected to severe discipline and hard work; should this fail in reforming them, they also are dispatched to Norfolk Island, a description of which will be given in a subsequent part of this work. The latest detailed account which I have received of the system pursued in Van Diemen's Island (but which probably even now is undergoing alteration), may be thus summarily stated. On the arrival of a convict ship in the colony, a registrar of convicts takes a correct description of every individual before landing, records his general character and conduct during the voyage, and classifies the whole according to crime, registering the offences they have respectively committed. The prisoners are then distributed in gangs of not less than 110 men; each gang available for employment in the construction or repair of cross roads, or such other public works as may be approved by the Lieutenant-governor, provided that the public bodies, or private individual, applying for the services of such gangs furnish proper

quarters for the officers and convicts, supply the requisite tools, and pay into the commissariat chest the cost of the superintendence, which is estimated at the rate of £4 10s. per annum for each convict, if the supply of labour be guaranteed by the government for twelve or eighteen months; if not guaranteed for any certain period, then from £2 10s. to £3 10s. per man.

The system of task-work is carried out with satisfactory results in the probation gangs; the men are divided according to their capacities or physical powers into *three* classes; to each individual a specific task is assigned, calculated so as to allow a man by actual hard labour to perform half as much again as is allotted to him for his daily task, the non-performance of which subjects him to be put on low diet, confined in a solitary cell, or otherwise punished; but whatever surplus labour be done above the daily task the prisoner gets the credit of it; for instance, a man sentenced to hard labour for three months may earn his release in two months, and continued good conduct tells in diminution of the duration of his punishment. At the end of each month, the whole of the convicts are publicly informed of the amount of their credit for extra labour. Small quantities of tobacco and other petty indulgencies are granted to well-conducted men. As an inducement to learn to read and write, the prisoners are informed that until they can do so, the government will not permit them to enter the second or passholder stage of probation.

The daily routine of duties at the convict stations is very minutely regulated; the following abstract of the rules will indicate the care bestowed:—First bell, at a quarter before five or six, A.M., according to the season, summons the convict to rise, dress, and fold bedding; second bell (fifteen minutes later), to turn out, form on muster-ground, and proceed in messes of ten men each to washing places, under supervision of an officer; at the expiration of another fifteen minutes, third bell,—muster and minute inspection, prayers are read, working parties formed, and marched off to labour under their respective overseers. Eight, A.M., breakfast; quarter to nine, again to work. At noon, dinner; one P.M. again to work, until five P.M. After labour convicts wash as in the morning, then proceed to supper; afterwards, at six P.M. to school in the mess-room, where, in addition to the schoolmaster, an officer and a constable are

on duty. Eight P.M., school-books collected, religious service for the evening read by the chaplain, the men proceed to their wards, are mustered, and prepare to retire to rest, when upon the "silence bell" being rung, and a signal of warning given, the prisoners unite in singing the "Evening Hymn," which closes the day. Perfect silence is then enforced until morning. Constables, and watchmen (furnished with slippers) perambulate the wards during the night, taking care that the lights are kept properly burning, and that the strictest order is maintained; an officer also visits the dormitories during the night, and his reports are recorded in a book kept by the watchman on duty, to be examined in the morning by the superintendent of the station, and by the visiting magistrate. On Saturday evening there is no school, and the prisoners are employed in repairing their clothing, during which time public reading is kept up in each ward. Every individual is furnished with a bible and a prayer-book, and there is a library of instructive and moral books, which are lent to the more deserving. On Sundays there is Divine service in the morning and in the afternoon, and in the evening the whole of the prisoners are formed into school-classes, as on the week days, with monitors, when the Scriptures are read by the convicts, and then explained by the minister. The other details for the preservation of order, of cleanliness, and of punctuality, are admirable, and it would appear to be difficult for the most idle, careless, or indolent, long to resist the beneficial influence of such wholesome and steadily-enforced discipline.

The next stage above the probation gangs comprises the pass-holders, who are protected by regulations enforced by the local government, since September, 1847, which in substance are to the following effect. Their *employers*, who must be authorized by the lieutenant-governor, cannot hire them for less than one month, at such wages as may be agreed upon; must provide suitable lodging and bedding, free of charge, and daily rations of 1 lb. meat, 1½ lb. bread, or 1 lb. bread, and 2 lbs. vegetables; 1 oz. roasted wheat (as a substitute for coffee), or ¼ oz. tea, 1 oz. sugar, ½ oz. soap, and ½ oz. salt. Wages to be paid monthly or quarterly, but not for periods of misconduct or sickness; the master's rights not to be transferable, but the servant to be returned to the nearest hiring depôt, if his services be

no longer required, or he may be withdrawn in a summary manner by the lieutenant-governor, on a substantiated complaint. As regards the *employed*, no pass-holder can refuse entering an eligible service at reasonable wages, but the engagement is cancelled by his obtaining a ticket-of-leave; he is to be provided with medicines and medical attendance when ill, or sent to a general or station hospital, his employer guaranteeing the payment of one shilling a day; must attend divine service, at least, once in every Sunday, in accordance with his professed creed; cannot be at large or work for his own benefit, and is amenable only to convict law. The stage above that of pass-holders is the ticket-of-leave holder; the nature of the privilege thereby conferred, has been stated in the previous pages, and in the history of New South Wales, p. 414. This boon may be granted for good conduct in prison, and on the public works at home, or in Bermuda, or Gibraltar, so that the convict, on landing in Van Diemen's Island, would at once receive this indulgence; or it may be the result of meritorious conduct in the colony. Conformable to instructions from the Secretary of State, all ticket-of-leave holders arriving in Van Diemen's Island, after the 1st of January, 1849, are required to pay a certain sum towards the cost of their conveyance to the colony. For instance, if under a sentence of seven years, he will be required to have paid £7 10s.; if under a sentence of fifteen years, £11 5s.; and if under a sentence of life, the whole amount of £15, before he can be recommended for a conditional pardon. A fund will thus be provided, by means of which the wives and families of ticket-of-leave holders, of the class above referred to, will be sent out to them, when half the cost of doing so has been paid by themselves, their friends, or their parishes in the United Kingdom. It is, however, doubtful whether it will be found advisable to enforce these payments.

The convict women, on their arrival in Van Diemen's Island, had been, under the previous arrangements, required to pass the first stage of their probation, for six months, on board a hulk, termed the *Anson*, where they were taught needlework, straw plaiting, &c.; but here also the herding together of all grades had been fraught with serious evils; the younger and less depraved being speedily reduced, by their associates, to the same fearful state of demoralization. Prisoners misconducting themselves on board

the *Anson* were ordered to be sent to a female house of correction; and when they had there finished this second or intermediate sentence, they were sent back again to complete the required six months' probation. The *Anson* hulk is, I believe, now abandoned; and the convict women are classified in the Factory, near Hobart Town, which I have before spoken of, as admirably constructed for the purpose.

I now proceed to shew the number, classification, and other facts connected with the convicts in Van Diemen's Island, according to the latest returns transmitted to her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The classification of the convicts in Van Diemen's Island, for 1848, is thus shewn:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Ticket-of-leave Holders:			
On their own hands	8,807	1,108	9,915
Under magisterial sentence . . .	186	34	220
In hospitals	104	5	109
Total	9,097	1,147	10,244
Pass-holders:			
In private service	6,878	1,389	8,267
In hiring depots	1,091	197	1,288
Under sentence	1,533	632	2,165
In hospitals	361	61	422
Total	9,863	2,279	12,142
Under probation or sentence:			
Under probation	1,355	478	1,833
In gaols	10	—	10
In hospitals	196	61	257
Under second conviction	292	—	292
Re-convicted men under orders for removal to Norfolk Island	661	—	661
Total	2,514	539	3,053
Total number of Convicts in the colony on the 31st of December, 1848	21,494	3,965	25,459

Note.—There were granted, in 1848, 1,946 certificates of freedom to convicts who had served their sentences; 1,242 absolute and conditional pardons; 3,682 tickets-of-leave, deducting those which were cancelled. The number of convicts who became free in 1848, but who did not apply for certificates of their freedom, was 1,145. Total number of deaths reported, 244.

The actual number of males on probation or under sentence, on the 1st of December, 1848, was—on Tasman's Peninsula, 1,963; Maria Island, 554; Norfolk Island, 661: total, 3,178.

Assuming the average number of pass-holders employed and supported by private individuals is 8,000, and estimating the number of ticket-of-leave holders earning their own subsistence at 9,000, this would give a total of 17,000 convicts maintained without cost to the British treasury.

The different stations, male and female, in Van Diemen's Island, and in Norfolk Island, and the number of Protestants and Roman Catholics at each station and establishment, on the 15th of April, 1848, are shewn in the following table:—

Stations.	Protestants.	Roman Catholics.	Total.
MALES.			
Port Arthur	466	172	638
South Port	79	47	126
Bridgewater	101	29	130
Tunbridge	128	53	181
Fingal	57	30	87
Cascades	283	36	319
Point Pier	182	89	271
Coal Mines	290	36	326
Lymington	122	33	155
Darlington	200	185	385
Long Point	106	28	134
Parsons Pass	29	22	51
Rocky Hills	93	47	140
Jericho	150	23	173
Impression Bay	351	20	371
Salt Water River	244	49	293
Spring Hill	6	27	33
Antill Ponds	61	37	98
Hiring Depôt, Launceston . . .	92	15	107
Royal Engineer Party, New Norfolk	7	5	12
Bagdad	38	8	46
Oatlands	108	30	138
Glenorchy	131	47	178
Prisoners' barracks, Hobart . .	691	67	758
" Launceston	157	38	195
Perth Depôt	26	12	38
Campbell Town	16	12	28
Pontville	55	16	71
New Town Farm	27	14	41
Invalid Depôt, New Norfolk . .	45	36	81
Hamilton	54	28	82
Jerusalem	100	58	158
Ross	14	12	26
Avoca Bridge	3	43	46
Brown's River	8	2	5
Norfolk Island on March 31, 1848	354	212	566
Total Males	4,869	1,618	6,487
FEMALES.			
Factory, Cascades	288	222	510
" Launceston	65	62	127
Brickfields	21	26	47
Anson	179	112	291
Nursery, Dynnyrne House . . .	44	9	53
Hiring Depôt, Launceston . . .	17	5	22
Ross	10	13	23
Total Females	624	449	1,073

Note.—SUMMARY: Protestant convicts, males, 4,869; females, 624; total, 5,493; religious instructors, 20, or 1 instructor to 274 Protestants. Roman catholic convicts, males, 1,618; females, 449; total, 2,067; religious instructors, including new arrivals, 9, or 1 instructor to 229 Roman catholics.

The free persons employed in the convict department, during the year 1848, were—of the class of educated persons, 141 officers, superintendents, magistrates, &c., 54 chaplains, catechists, and schoolmasters, 29 medical men, and 51 clerks; of the class not required to be educated, 83 tradesmen and seamen, and 218 other free persons; the whole number being 576.

The expenditure in the colony on account of pay of officers, and food and clothing for convicts, was, in 1848, £152,800; and, on account of pay of military guard and staff officers, including rations, in 1848, £91,777.

The estimated consumption, in 1849, of

articles the produce of the colony, deducting the quantities grown at stations, was—meat, 1,696,853 lbs.; salt beef, 264,990; salt pork, 7,166; suet, 60; lard, 1,050; flour, 3,628,316; bread, 575,566; biscuit, 37,960; bran, 6,000; vegetables, 823,921; milk, 174,281 pints; yeast, 2,269 gallons; peas, 9,490 lbs.; straw, 32,175; oil, 13,909 galls.; candles, 9,954 lbs.; wood, 7,665,026;—valued at £37,222.

The attention paid to the instruction of the prisoners may be gathered from the following return, shewing the state of schools at the various convict stations on the 31st December, 1848:—

Stations in Van Diemen's Island.	No. of Convicts.	Of whom can			Of whom have learned, since arrival in the Colony, to			No. who have learned during last six months, to		No. Learning to		
		Read.	Write.	Cipher.	Read.	Write.	Cipher.	Read.	Write.	Read.	Write.	Cipher.
Male convicts:												
Salt Water River . . .	294	242	182	37	83	97	18	44	61	46	34	32
Impression Bay . . .	546	406	308	202	6	13	—	6	13	21	50	40
Cascades	325	226	164	76	40	36	24	28	33	99	68	88
Darlington	368	345	200	81	88	94	65	26	26	90	110	68
Long Point	159	114	92	59	17	10	12	7	8	28	23	27
Point Puer	160	112	112	112	74	95	100	36	39	50	50	50
Port Arthur	503	423	332	229	36	28	19	13	18	44	26	107
Old Wharf	199	164	156	133	97	101	85	97	101	27	17	20
Total	2,554	2,032	1,546	929	441	474	323	257	299	405	378	432
Female convicts:												
Anson	523	228	140	46	36	30	25	24	26	277	365	217
Cascade Factory . . .	445	300	163	34	10	18	12	3	8	171	148	122
Factory, Launceston . .	101	51	8	4	17	12	2	4	10	50	17	6
Hiring Depot, ditto . .	13	7	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	6	5	2
Factory, Ross	62	45	33	11	21	17	7	9	14	23	19	5
Total	1,144	631	346	97	85	78	47	41	59	527	554	352
General Total . . .	3,698	2,663	1,892	1,026	526	552	370	298	358	932	932	784

On the 1st of July, 1846, the number of convicts at large was estimated at 599 males, and 145 females = 744. On the 1st of July, 1848, the numbers were, 480 males, 117 females = 597. This, however, includes all who have absconded since the year 1823, many of whom, it is believed, have made their escape from the colony, some must now be dead, and the term of imprisonment and degradation allotted to others has elapsed.

The careful manner in which the convicts have been conveyed to their place of exile is evidenced by the following parliamentary return, (No. 166, House of Commons, April 4th, 1843):—The number of hired convict ships and transport vessels employed by the Admiralty between 1816 and 1842 inclusive, has been—convict ships, 548; transport vessels, 870. Total, 1,418 ships. *Not one of these vessels foundered at sea; but during the same period fifty-nine ships of war and ten government packets foundered*

at sea, or have not been heard of since. Although there have been many attempts at escape among the convicts during their voyage, I believe the only successful instance was that of a female convict-ship, when the seamen co-operated with the prisoners, and navigated the vessel to Valparaiso, where I understand the principal inn is now kept by the woman who planned the mutiny.

In a financial point of view the subject is of the first importance; the disbursements for the criminals of the United Kingdom, the cost of military guards, &c., averaging nearly three thousand guineas every day throughout the year.* The expense to be defrayed from the British Treasury for convict establishments in the colonies for the

* The number of prisoners committed in 1849, was—in England and Wales, 27,816; in Ireland, 41,989; in Scotland, 4,357 = 74,062; the average expense of each committal, reckoned at £14, gives a total of upwards of £1,000,000 sterling.

year ending 31st March, 1851, is estimated at £200,146; of this there is apportioned to Van Diemen's Island (convicts 5,206, and children 675), £125,642; to New South Wales, £7,712; to Western Australia, £11,778; to Bermuda (convicts 1750), £40,670; to Gibraltar, (convicts 910), £14,344. The number of convicts for which this estimate is made at New South Wales and at Western Australia, is not stated; as regards New South Wales, the sum of £7,712 must refer rather to the remnant of the establishments in that former penal colony than to any prisoners now in the service of the crown.

In Van Diemen's Island the estimate for £125,642 includes salaries and allowances for superintendence to the amount of £30,354; police, gaols, and witnesses, £25,000; provisions for healthy convicts and establishment, £21,000; clothing and bedding, £10,000; salaries and allowances for religious instruction, £6,960; salaries and allowances for medical treatment, £8,024; naval stores, repairs of hulks, boats, buildings, and repairs of buildings, £6,416; transport of provisions, £5,907; fuel and light, £4,991; postage, printing, books, &c., £2,000; preventive guard and capture of runaways, £1,250; provisions for sick convicts and establishments, £1,355; special commission to Norfolk island, £500; pensions, £532; sundries, £1,250. Taking the whole number at 5,881 prisoners, the cost for each during the year is £21 7s. In this statement there is no deduction for the earnings of the prisoners.

The cost of the principal prisons where the convicts are confined previous to transportation, according to the parliamentary estimates for the current year, is shown in a tabular form on the next column.

The gross total is £247,250; of this the salaries of chief officers and clerks amounts to £23,786; wages of inferior officers and servants, £35,695; manufacturing departments, £6,979; rations for officers or allowances in lieu, £6,378; diet for prisoners, £79,934; clothing and bedding, £19,654; fuel and light, £8,656; furniture and fittings, £5,779; buildings and hulks, about £45,000; contingencies, about £10,000; medicines and medical comforts, £4,200.

The expense per head for one year, taking the total number of prisoners at 9,828, and the net charge at £237,224 is upwards of £24, which is more than a convict would cost in Van Diemen's Island. The actual

outlay incurred in deporting the prisoners I do not exactly know; that office belongs to the Admiralty department. Estimating that 80,000 convicts have been conveyed from the United Kingdom to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Island, and that the average cost for the whole period has been £30 per head, this gives a sum of £2,400,000. The expense is now possibly from £20 to £25 per head.

Establishments.	No. of Prisoners.	Est ^d . Val. of Productive Labour.	Net Charge to Country.	Ann ^d . Cost per head
Hulk, England . . .	1,800 or 2,200	—	£56,863	£26
Millbank " . . .	1,300	£2,700	32,200	25
Parkhurst " . . .	680	1,331	14,452	21
Pentonville " . . .	508	1,782	12,826	25
Portland " . . .	840	—	23,052	27
Inval. Dept. " . . .	700	—	23,371	33
Perth, Scotland . . .	450	1,155	14,613	32
Grange-Gorman, Irel.	250	225	2,650	10
Kilmainham, " . . .	100	10	1,730	17
Mountjoy " . . .	550	250	14,113	26
Newgate " . . .	100	130	1,475	14
Richmond " . . .	250	144	4,037	16
Smithfield " . . .	3,000	605	4,706	—
Spike Island " . . .	2,000	1,168	30,507	6
Total . . .	9,828	£9,499	£237,224	£24

Note.—£527 8s. are subtracted on account of house-rent, to be paid by officers provided with residences on the premises. The annual cost per head is an average.

The lieutenant-governor, on whom devolves the twofold duty of administering the affairs of an extensive colony, and carrying into effect the instructions from England relative to 30,000 criminals, must necessarily be entrusted with a large discretionary power: the officer on whom this heavy measure of responsibility now rests, was thus spoken of by Earl Grey, on the 15th of March, 1850, in the Chamber of Peers, when, after rightly claiming credit on behalf of her Majesty's government, for having done the best to meet difficulties of no ordinary description, his lordship added,—“The arrangements made by Sir William Denison cannot fail to be attended with the best effects: in the measures he has adopted we have evidence of full information, sound judgment, an earnest wish to perform all his duties to the utmost, and the presence also, on his part, of strong religious feelings, the influence of which cannot be over-estimated in the management of such a colony as that entrusted to his charge.”

I have now entered as fully as my limits permit, into the past and present state of

penal discipline; on the practical working of the existing system, it would be premature to express a decided opinion; but it is, I fear, only too certain that, under any system, however well devised, and conscientiously carried into execution, transportation or the imprisonment of large bodies of criminals, must inevitably bring with it evils which no human prudence or precaution can prevent. One satisfactory conclusion I have at least arrived at by a careful perusal of the voluminous documents which have been written and printed on this painful subject, and that is with regard to the conduct of the various members of her Majesty's government, of every party, during the last twenty years, who do appear to have sincerely, and to a considerable extent, successfully endeavoured to make "the law a terror to evil-doers," and yet to enable a "wicked man to turn away from his wickedness and live." Whether these desirable ends can more effectively be promoted by solitary confinement in England, subsequent hard labour in probation gangs, and finally by deportation under the designation of "exiles," than by a well-ordered system of assignment, remains to be proved.

But, whatever system may be deemed preferable, the transportation of criminals is a positive duty to society, and the best means of rescuing the misguided beings themselves from a career of infamy. By such expatriation, former habits are broken, early associations altered, a new scene is opened to view, where labour is in demand, where independence may be obtained, and the stain on tarnished character, to a great extent obliterated, by a career of honest industry and honourable conduct. There are now in Australia about 50,000 *free persons*, some of them living in opulence, most of them in comfortable circumstances, who arrived there as convicted felons. It is fair to presume that all, or nearly all of these 50,000 adults are, to a greater or less extent, reformed characters, otherwise the state of society which I have described in my volume on New South Wales, and in the present book, could not exist. What would, however, have been the condition of these 50,000 persons, if after confinement in a gaol or in hulks in England, Ireland, or Scotland, they had returned to the contaminating haunts of their former evil deeds? to the pernicious influences of those who had for a time escaped the meshes of the law, or the gripe of the police officer? What, it may further

be asked, would be the extent of increased pollution they would bring to the associates to whom they returned, reeking with the concentrated vice, and branded with the damning infamy of a gaol?

In France, the evil resulting from the want of a system of transportation has become of alarming magnitude; the forçats have corrupted thousands, who would otherwise probably have never been made acquainted with vice; each disbanded or discharged convict becoming the centre of a circle composed of the idle, thoughtless, and evil-disposed; socialism, red-republicanism, and other destructive principles become familiarized to the multitude; unceasing efforts are made for the overthrow of order, and a disturbing influence is ever at work: those who have completed their servitude in the chain-gangs and galleys of Brest, Cherbourg, Toulon, &c., constructing fortresses against external foes, occupying themselves far more actively in multiplying internal enemies, who, unless checked in their career, must, sooner or later, vitiate the body politic, and overthrow the institutions of the state.

But it is not only in France that this serious evil is attaining an alarming height; in Vienna, in Rome, in Berlin, in New York, New Orleans, and Philadelphia—in all the large cities of continental Europe and America, statesmen and moralists know there are regularly-organized masses living on plunder and in vice—whose operations are ordinarily carried on in isolation and darkness; but who, on the outbreak of any popular tumult, combine their demoniac efforts, appear in open day in the public thoroughfares, and horrify peaceable citizens with their barbarian aspect—their ruffianly proceedings, and savage deeds. Such were the wretches who committed the recent cowardly murders at Frankfort, at Vienna, and at Rome—such the diabolical agents of Robespierre and Marat; and they have left the traces of their crimes on nearly every capital in Europe. England has, however, not only avoided the injurious consequences of criminals returning into society, and corrupting it to the core, but has converted an apparently unmixed evil into the source of positive good.

During the debate in the House of Lords on the *Convict Prisons Bill*, 13th April, 1850, Earl Grey, when speaking of the beneficial effect of transportation, both as regards the removal of criminals from this had passed through the sentence of trans-

portation, and were now honestly earning their own subsistence in the Australian colonies," emphatically exclaimed—"But in the memory of men now alive, what a nation has been created! And was it not the creation of a system of transportation? (hear, hear.) By no other means could they have formed, in so short a space of time, infant communities of equal prosperity and magnitude. It might be said, that South Australia and Port Phillip were not indebted to the convict system; but that was a mistake: for those places could not have risen to anything like their present importance, but for the neighbourhood of the convict colonies." (Hear.) Lord John Russell, also, in his minute on convict discipline, of January, 1839, quotes a French author who, dilating on the peculiar origin of the penal colonies in Australia, says—"Never was there a more conspicuous example of the omnipotence of laws and institutions over the character of individuals: to convert the most hardened villains—the most daring robbers into honest and peaceable citizens, or industrious agriculturists; then to operate the like revolution in the vilest prostitutes—to change them, by infallible means, to faithful wives and excellent mothers. Next, to watch over the rising population; to preserve them, by the most assiduous care, from the contagion of their parents; and thus breed up a generation more virtuous than the race from which it sprang. Such is the impressive picture which the English colonies in Australia present."

Whether any more convicts be sent to Van Diemen's Island will probably depend on the number of prisoners sentenced to transportation, and to the impossibility of providing for them in Western Australia, or in other colonies. It was the wish of her Majesty's government to send prisoners who have passed through the stages of solitary confinement and hard work, to the Cape of Good Hope and New South Wales. The colonists, however, objected to receive them; and Earl Grey says, in his speech of 15th March, 1850—"Her Majesty's ministers did not think themselves at liberty to overrule that reluctance in colonies which were not founded as convict settlements; and as a pledge had been given, in 1840, that New South Wales should be treated as a free colony, and many free persons had gone there since that period, it would be scarcely fair to re-establish it again as a penal colony." With regard to Van Diemen's Island, to

which the free inhabitants have gone with their eyes open, her Majesty's government declare that the British public has a right to consider it as a colony fitted to receive convicts sentenced to transportation; but should any more be sent thither, "the practice shall be continued with the least possible loss, injury, or expense to the colony." Of late years, the local revenues were expected to contribute 6*d.* a day towards the support of each convict employed on public works; the colonists were unable to do so. Now, no more is asked than payment for the tools used, and for the superintendence; by which means several great lines of roads have been opened, and other useful objects carried into effect.

The principal works in the colony have been constructed by the labour of convicts: Among these may be included government-house, barracks, forts, commissariat stores, wharfs, churches, school-houses, gaols, police offices, roads, causeways, and bridges. These unproductive works have not resulted from the capital of the free immigrants, few of whom, on their landing, had much beyond the means of existence for a limited period: they have been created by an annual expenditure averaging about £100,000 for the last thirty years—say three million sterling—and by an abundance of cheap convict labour.

I cannot better conclude the description of this colony, than by the expression of the hearty respect and sympathy which, I believe, the free inhabitants of Van Diemen's Island deserve from their fellow-citizens in the United Kingdom. Their numerous and well-attended places of worship, and their societies for the promotion of christian knowledge, attest the importance attached by them to the promulgation of religion, and the due observance of its holy ordinances; their public and private academies evidence as forcibly their strong and almost universal desire, as parents, to bestow on their children a sound English education; these, together with their hospitals and other charitable institutions, their libraries, literary and scientific societies, their mechanics' institutes and lecture halls, supported as they are by a free population, including women and children, of less than fifty thousand, do indeed prove, in the emphatic words of the address to Earl Grey, read at the Launceston public meeting, December, 1849, "*that as a community, they are patriotic and enterprising, earnest and energetic, industrious and self-denying.*"

BOOK II.—NORFOLK ISLAND.

POSITION, AREA, ASPECT, OCCUPATION AND DEGREE OF CULTIVATION, AND
CONDITION AS A PENAL SETTLEMENT.

NORFOLK ISLAND, in 29° S. lat., 168° E. long., was discovered by Cook during his second voyage, at daybreak, on the 10th of October, 1774, and received from him its present name in honour of the noble family of Howard. Cook landed on the same day, and says, "we found it uninhabited, and were undoubtedly the first that ever set foot on it." About two hundred yards from the shore the ground was covered so thick with shrubs and plants as hardly to be penetrated further inland by the explorers; and after noting the magnificent pine, which, he says, differed somewhat from that which grows in New Zealand and in New Caledonia,—and remarking that many trees, plants, and birds on the island were similar to those on New Zealand, Cook sailed on the ensuing morning to the southward.

The island, is about seven miles long by three to four miles broad. The superficies are estimated at 8,960 acres, of which 1,080 acres are cleared for agricultural purposes, and about 1,000 acres for pasturage.

The surface resembles the sea during a gale of wind, being composed of long, narrow, and very steep ranges of hills, with deep gulches, which are in most places extremely narrow. The coast is nearly everywhere iron-bound, and landing is frequently dangerous. *Anson's Bay*, on the west, and *Bull's Bay*, on the east, afford some protection when the winds are not blowing in that direction.

Mount Pitt, 1,200 feet above the sea, on the northern side, is the highest eminence in the island, and from its summit every valley and farm may be viewed as if delineated on a map. The majestic Norfolk Island pine with its sombre foliage, the fern-tree with its softer green, the orange and lemon groves, and numerous graceful trees and flowering shrubs entwined with parasitic plants of extreme beauty, are scattered over the varied surface, appearing yet more lovely from the contrast they afford to the high and rugged

shores against which the thundering surf of the Pacific rolls unceasingly.

There is an excellent road across the island from the landing place, called the Cascade, to the principal station. The road is carried along a very narrow slip of table-land or ridge, in nearly a straight line, and on either side there are occasional glimpses of beautiful scenery. At the edge of this slip of table-land a steep and tortuous road, with a descent of about 200 feet, leads to the settlement; on the left are the new barracks, consisting of one square building, two stories high, with a verandah on the ground-floor; contiguous to this there is a detached building of the same height, with verandahs to both stories—it is used as an hospital; on the right is a similar building for the officers' quarters and mess room; the whole surrounded by a wall flanked with towers at the corners, and loop-holed for musquetry. Close by is the parade-ground, a fine piece of turf, three acres in extent, with a narrow valley at the back, watered by an ever-flowing rivulet; where the productive gardens of the soldiers and of civil and military officers are situated. The residences of the civil officers and staff, consist of a succession of white cottages of one story, surrounded with green verandahs, each on its own lawn or shrubbery, ornamented with variegated flowers, one above the other, about twenty yards apart, and presenting a very picturesque view. The government-house, a comfortable structure, is built on a mound at some distance from the road-side opposite the old barracks. The farms are scattered in different parts of the island, wherever the land is available for cultivation.

Nepean Island, a bald-faced rock near the south-eastern part of Norfolk Island, and *Phillip Island*, another desolate rock, constitute the only objects within sight.

GEOLGY.—A small portion of the south side is limestone; to the east of this there is a still smaller portion of coarse siliceous

sandstone; the remainder of the island is basaltic. The soil is generally good.

Vegetation.—When we first occupied the island, it was entirely covered with fine trees; Captain Hunter, R.N., mentions some pines 150 to 200 feet high, 28 to 30 feet in circumference, free from branches 40 to 60 feet above the ground, and “with a very noble appearance.” J. Backhouse, who visited it on a Christian mission in 1835, describes the upper portions of the valleys and the higher parts of the hills, being then covered with wood. The Norfolk Island pine (*Attingia excelsa*) towers 100 feet above the rest of the forest; it also grows in clumps, and singly on the grassy parts of the island, to the very verge of the sea, where its roots are washed by the high tides. In figure this fine tree resembles the Norway spruce, but the tiers of its branches are more distant. A remarkable fern-tree (*Alsophila excelsa*), forming a striking object in the landscape, is found near some water-courses with a trunk 50 feet in height, and fronds 7 to 12 feet in length. A *pandaneæ*, or screw pine, called Norfolk Island grass-tree, is another remarkable production; its stem is marked by rings, where the old leaves have fallen off, and is an inch and-a-half in diameter; it lies on the ground, climbs like ivy, or winds round the trunks of trees. The branches are crowned with crests of broad sedge-like leaves. From the centre of these arise clusters of three or four oblong red, pulpy fruit, four inches in length, and as much in circumference. While the plant is in flower the leaves are scarlet, and when twined round the splendid fern-tree, the effect is very gorgeous. The thick forest is overrun with luxuriant climbers, among them a wisteria, with pea flowers of purple and green, hangs in festoons of twenty to thirty feet in length; and the *Ipomiceæ pendula*, with its fingered foliage and rosy pink flowers, climbs from tree to tree. The Norfolk Island cabbage-tree attains a height of twenty feet. The New Zealand flax abounds. The apple-fruited guava and the lemon, have overrun the island; oranges, grapes, figs, olives, pomegranates, strawberries, loquats, melons, and bananas, are cultivated successfully. The climate is

salubrious, but too warm to admit of the labour of Europeans at mid-day in the open air, during the summer months. This is an objection to the place as a penal settlement.

The island was occupied in 1790 by the government of New South Wales (see previous vol., p. 404), as a place where food might be cultivated for the then famishing colony at Sydney. Several convicts and some free settlers were sent to the place, who declared it to be inadequate even for the maintenance of its own population, and the settlers and prisoners were removed to Van Diemen's Island, where they formed the township of New Norfolk. During the administration of General Darling, the island was re-occupied as a place of punishment and safe-keeping for desperate offenders, and for persons convicted in New South Wales; and it has since remained as a receptacle for the worst class of offenders—men of desperate and almost irreclaimable character, who on several occasions have mutinied and murdered their overseers.* On these and other painful and revolting subjects, it is not my intention to dilate.

The buildings on the island in March, 1848, were a new gaol, prisoners' barracks, enclosed lumber yard, with mess-room, convict hospital, old and new military barracks, commissariat stores, civil officers' quarters, detached workshops, stores, and a protestant and Roman catholic chapels. In the new gaol there are 124 cells; viz., eighty-two, 6 feet by 5; two, 6 by 12, and forty, 8 by 6; height, 10 feet, 9 inches. The prisoners' barracks consist of a three-story stone building, with a centre and two wings, with ample accommodation for 700 prisoners. The military barracks, an excellent building completely protected against any attack from the convicts, has quarters for 200 men.

Sir William Denison states that there are nearly 9,000 acres of excellent land in the island; if so, there would appear to have been mismanagement in its not having been cultivated for the support of the numerous convicts, who have from time to time been stationed there. There are 1,200 acres of arable land, cleared, and 4,000 more might be profitably brought under cultivation; but, on the 30th of June, 1848, the whole extent producing crops was 8 acres, employed in the

* In July, 1846, the prisoners during a mutiny murdered and wounded several overseers. For this offence twelve of the convicts were executed on the 13th of October, 1846, after a trial which lasted eight days; two more were subsequently executed.

I can find no return of prisoners executed at Norfolk Island for a series of years; such a statement would be useful; I am however of opinion, that the extreme penalty of the law is not often inflicted in Norfolk Island.

growth of *arrow-root*; hospital garden, 3 acres; sweet potatoes, 65 acres; fallow land, 20 acres; oats, 46 acres; barley, 22 acres; rye 10 acres. Total, 174 acres. Five acres were then preparing for tobacco, and 84 had English grasses, making only 263 acres of ground broken up after more than twenty years' constant occupation. Maize, when the crop succeeds, has been grown to the extent of sufficient for the supply of 700 men for three months. In October, 1848, there were 190 working oxen, 68 horses, and about 507 pigs, of which 300 were sows. There is an abundance of good water.

It has been proposed several times to remove all the convicts from Norfolk Island, on account of the immoralities produced by congregating together a large number of prisoners; but a better system of discipline having now been enforced, Earl Grey signified to the lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Island, on the 4th of December, 1849, that her Majesty's government had determined on retaining Norfolk Island as a place of punishment for those prisoners who prove incorrigible in the hulks and in gaol, as experience had shewn it to be indispensable to have some ulterior plan of punishment for such desperate offenders as defy all authority, and endanger both the lives of their officers and the peace of the establishments in which they are detained. Her Majesty's government were well aware of the evils connected with the settlement, some of which were of an adventitious character, and have since been remedied,* but the advantages of the

place for restraining a limited number (500 to 700) of the worst offenders, who dread the idea of being sent thither, are stated by her Majesty's government, to be its remote and lonely situation, at a distance from any inhabited land, by which all hope of escape is cut off; the cultivation of the soil (about 9,000 acres) in a salubrious climate, affording eligible employment for the convicts, thus effectually precluding the formidable crimes which are liable to be committed by bush-rangers and runaways in Australia, or in Van Diemen's Island. The policy carried out partially by Captain Macconochie, of enabling a prisoner to work out his period of servitude, which should be for an unlimited period, by earning a certain number of good marks individually, or in gangs of six or more persons, has been abandoned, and a more rigid coercion is now enforced. It is to be hoped that by an attention to the spiritual improvement of the prisoners, and by actively employing them in the cultivation of the soil, a reform may be looked for even among the worst characters transported for life to this secluded island.

The administration of affairs is confided to the Lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Island; the prisoners are under the supervision of the Comptroller-general of convicts at Hobart Town; the military guard is provided by the regiment stationed in the Tasmanian command; and the expenditure is annually voted by the Imperial Parliament, under the head of *convict services*.

* Dr. Hampton, comptroller-general of convicts in Van Diemen's Island, was sent to Norfolk Island, to report specially on its condition, and the advisability of retaining it as an *ultra*-penal settlement. The opinion of this able officer, dated the 10th of March, 1848, is decidedly in favour of keeping this place, as the severest punishment, short of death, for any criminal. Great and much-needed reforms had been made previous to the arrival of the comptroller-general: each of the chain-gang was lodged in a roomy, secure, well-ventilated, stone cell; and 328 convicts could each be locked up in a separate apartment at night. The spiritual instruction was improved, by the substitution of more efficient Protestant and Roman Catholic ministers; and an efficient commandant had checked the open vice and insubordination resulting from previous lax discipline. The results of this beneficial change are thus shewn in the report of Dr. Hampton:—

"It is only the restraining influence of strict discipline, aided by separate cells, want of confidence in each other, and the dread they all evidently feel of the present commandant's thorough knowledge of convict habits and character, which render men

quiet, orderly, and obedient, who were formerly insolent, turbulent, and violent in the highest degree. But it is an important step in advance, to have been able, with such a class of convicts, to enforce subordination, and outward decency of conduct and language; and, if this is properly followed up, much more satisfactory results may yet be produced.

"Crimes of magnitude, and even trifling breaches of discipline, are now very rarely committed; and I may here observe, the magisterial records shew that issuing tobacco to the prisoners has, in a most striking manner, lessened the amount of petty offences, and otherwise caused very beneficial effects.

"The prisoners in general looked healthy and robust; and although they must now be much more comfortable than under the former relaxed state of discipline, nearly all with whom I conversed expressed such an extreme anxiety to be removed from the island, that they evidently feel more than the usual longing for change so prevalent amongst convicts everywhere, and attributable at Norfolk Island, I have no doubt, to the complete isolation, the hopelessness of escape, the nature of their food, and the strict discipline to which they are subjected."

BOOK III.—NEW ZEALAND.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY AND HISTORY.

By whom—in what manner—and at what period, the group of islands known to us as New Zealand were originally discovered and occupied, are questions which have given rise to various conjectures and ingenious theories, founded chiefly on the personal appearance, language, and customs of the race or races by whom they were inhabited when first visited by Europeans. The account given by these people amounts to little more than that their ancestors, whom some of the chiefs are said to be able to trace back for sixteen generations, fled thither, in canoes, from an island called Hawiki (probably Hawaii, or Owhyhee, one of the Sandwich Islands), in consequence of having been defeated by another tribe with which they were at war, bringing with them their dogs, the kumera, or sweet potato, and a root called taro, the two last being their chief articles of food.

Among European* navigators, the claims of De Gouville to the discovery of New Zealand, are asserted by the French; while some writers uphold those of Juan Fernandez. This question is, however, of little importance, since it is generally acknowledged, that the first authentic information made public concerning it, was derived from the famous voyage of discovery undertaken by Tasman, in 1642, by the direction of the Dutch East India Company. From the journal kept by him during the expedition, we learn, that he left Van Diemen's Land (see p. 1, Div. v.) on the 5th of December, 1642, purposing to sail "precisely eastward," in the hope of making further discoveries. On the 13th, land was seen, bearing south-south-east; next day, the vessels anchored

two miles off the shore; on the following, proceeded along the coast to the northward; and at sunset on the 18th, anchored in a bay at the entrance of the strait which divides the northern from the middle island. Tasman would probably have discovered the strait, especially as he was desirous of making his way to the opposite coast, had he not been deterred from pursuing his explorations in this locality by foul weather, and likewise by the hostility evinced by the natives, which, according to Tasman, was totally unprovoked. From his statement, it would appear, that seeing "the savages venturing on board the *Heemskerk*, to trade with that vessel, and fearing they might attempt to take it by surprise, he sent seven men in a shallop, from his own ship, the *Zeechaan*, to put the people in the *Heemskerk* upon their guard." The boat was intercepted by the natives, and its crew being unarmed, three of them were killed, and the other four forced to swim for their lives. The canoes then paddled swiftly to the shore, escaping the fire immediately opened upon them by the Dutch, who were prevented from pursuing them, and taking a "severe revenge," by a very strong west wind. Tasman termed the scene of this disaster *Murderers' Bay*, (*Moordenaers' Bay*, in the map); and proceeded thence along the western coast, until he reached the low, bleak promontory constituting the northern extremity of New Zealand, to which he gave the name of her whom he delighted to honour, *Maria Van Diemen*.

After sailing round a small island, called the *Three Kings* (to the north-west of Cape Maria), Tasman, on the 6th of January, shores are laid down in Spanish charts of a date previous to the explorations of Cook; the other, that some of the New Zealanders declare that their forefathers did not bring the dog with them, but that it was introduced from a ship which visited their shores. This tradition is corroborated by the name frequently applied by them to that animal, being the identical word used by the Spanish (*perro*), and having evidently no connection with the Maori language.

* I have had occasion, in a previous portion of this work (Div. iii., p. 363) to advert to the geographical knowledge which there appears reason to suppose must have been acquired by the early Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch navigators, but which the narrow and selfish policy of their respective governments prevented them from making public. This opinion is supported by two striking facts connected with New Zealand, one of which is the correctness with which Dusky Bay and other portions of the south-west

1643, quitted New Zealand, having "never set foot on its shores," and returned to Batavia.* In communicating the results of his expedition, he speaks of the land which he had discovered as being probably a portion of the *Great Southern Continent*, whose existence was then a prevailing opinion among geographers, and a small portion of whose extensive outline Le Maire and Schouten were supposed to have sighted in 1614. Believing, therefore, the shores explored during his recent voyage to adjoin the coast previously described, and called *Staaten Land*, Tasman applied the same name to his own discovery; but a few months after his return, Hendric Brouwer, having ascertained that the *Staaten Land* of Le Maire and Schouten was merely an island of inconsiderable size, (off *Terra del Fuego*), the designation of *Nova Zeelandia* was given to the new-found and more important territory;—a singular choice, considering the contrast presented by its high and rugged surface, to the low, swampy flats of its European namesake.

Tasman did not revisit New Zealand; and, from the date of his voyage to that performed by our illustrious circumnavigator in 1769, no account exists of any vessel having sighted its shores, although there appears reason to believe that a European ship touched on the western coast no long time before the first visit of Captain Cook, who himself alludes to the statements made to him on the subject by the islanders. New Zealand continued to be viewed as part of the Great South Land, during the long interval of 127 years before alluded to, towards the close of which a new era commenced in the history of English maritime discovery.

George III. succeeded to the throne of Great Britain in 1760, and speedily manifested a strong desire for the acquisition of geographical and scientific knowledge. The voyages of Byron, and of Wallis and Carteret, were undertaken under the immediate auspices of the king, and the discoveries made by them when sailing homeward from the South Pacific, through the strait of Magellan, and across the Pacific Ocean, out of the track of former voyagers, strongly stimulated the public curiosity respecting the *Terra Australis Incognita*. At this time, an

expedition was projected for the purpose of noting a phenomenon of great importance to navigation, which it was confidently hoped would answer the double object of solving a geographical, as well as astronomical problem.

In 1767, the Royal Society resolved that it would be proper to send duly qualified persons into some part of the South Sea, to observe the transit of the planet Venus over the sun's disk, which it was calculated would happen in the year 1769; but having no means of defraying the expenses of such an expedition, they communicated their resolution to his Majesty, requesting his aid in carrying it into execution. The King immediately directed that a vessel should be fitted out, and a strong barque of 370 tons was selected, which being built for a collier, possessed the necessary qualifications for the present undertaking, of strength, roomy stowage, and an adaptation for safely taking the ground. She was named the *Endeavour*, and the command of her given to Lieutenant Cook, who was considered, with good reason, to be specially qualified for the service, having previously distinguished himself in Canada, and while engaged in surveying the coast of Newfoundland.

The island of Otaheite, or more properly Tahiti, which had recently been discovered by Captain Wallis, and called by him George the Third's Island, was deemed the fittest place for the observation. On its conclusion, Cook was instructed to explore the South Pacific Ocean as far as 40° lat., and if he found no land, to proceed westward between 40° and 35°, until he fell in with New Zealand, which he was directed to examine. Mr. C. Green, assistant to Dr. Bradley at the Royal Observatory, was associated with Lieutenant Cook to observe the transit. Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks, then a young man, devoting an ample fortune and considerable talent to the scientific pursuits, which through life he so assiduously followed, and Dr. Solander, a pupil of Linnæus, accompanied the expedition, which, exclusive of the above-named, comprised eighty-four individuals, namely, two lieutenants, a master and boatswain, with each two mates; a surgeon and carpenter, with each one mate; a gunner, a cook, a clerk and steward, two quarter-masters, an armourer, a sail-maker, three midshipmen, forty-one able seamen, twelve marines, and nine servants. The *Endeavour* was victualled for eighteen months, and

* The chart of Tasman's route is to be found in Thevenot's Voyages, 1696, entitled *Route d'Abel Tasman autour de la Terre Australe, avec le Découverte de la Terre Australe et de la Terre du Van Diemen*. Tome ii.

provided with ten carriage and twelve swivel guns.

Cook sailed from Plymouth on the 26th of August, 1768; on the 14th of November he anchored in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro, where he met with but an inhospitable reception from the viceroy of the King of Portugal, to whom our navigator essayed to explain the scientific object of his mission, but in vain, for of the transit of the planet Venus, his excellency could form no other conception, than that it was the passing of *the north star through the south pole*,* and could not be persuaded, but that some scheme of illicit trading was the true cause of a voyage for which so unintelligible a pretext was adduced. The viceroy, however, suffered Cook to purchase provisions for the ship, on condition of one of his own people being employed as factor.

On the 11th of January, 1769, the *Endeavour* passed Falkland's Islands, and sighted the coast of Terra del Fuego; on the 14th she entered the Strait of Le Maire, (see map of Falkland Islands, in sixth Division), and on the 13th of April, anchored at Tahiti. An observatory, with a small fort for its protection, was erected on the shore, in $17^{\circ}29'15''$ S. lat., $149^{\circ}32'30''$ W. long., and on the 3rd of June, the whole passage of the planet over the sun's disk was observed to great advantage, the sky being cloudless from sun-rise to sun-set. The first appearance of Venus on the sun was perceived at 9h. 25m. 42s. A.M., and at 3h. 32m. 10s. P.M., the planet had completed its long looked-for transit.

This primary duty being satisfactorily accomplished, Cook proceeded to carry out the remainder of his instructions. After leaving Tahiti he discovered the Society Islands and Oheteroa (see map of Polynesia), and then sailed to the southward. On the 6th of October, land was seen from the mast-head, and the following day, four or five ranges of hills rising one over the other, with a chain of mountains above all, which appeared of immense height, were distinctly perceptible. The newly reached shores, which the general opinion on board pronounced to appertain to the long looked-for southern continent, were those of New Zealand; Cook having made land about midway on the eastern coast of the northern island, along whose western coast Tasman had sailed in 1642.

On the 8th of October, at four P.M., Cook

* Cook's First Voyage, p. 11.

cast anchor in the Bay of Turanga before the entrance of a small river ($38^{\circ}42'$ S. lat., $181^{\circ}36'$ W. long.), and in the evening went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and a party of men. The natives who had assembled on the bank of the river, ran away on seeing them land. Cook and his companions were, nevertheless, proceeding towards some huts erected near the water-side, when four men, armed with long lances rushed out of the woods to attack the boats. The coxswain, who had been left in charge, fired two muskets over their heads, but finding this did not deter them, he shot the foremost through the heart. His three companions stood for some minutes motionless, as if petrified with horror; then retreated, dragging after them the dead body, which, however, they soon abandoned, finding it greatly incumbent their flight.

On the following morning Captain Cook again landed, accompanied by a Tahitian named Tupia, who addressed the assembled natives in his own language (which was perfectly intelligible to them), offering iron and beads in exchange for provisions and water. The New Zealanders appeared quite willing to trade, provided they could do so profitably, but earing very little for beads, and being unable to comprehend the uses of iron, they steadfastly refused to give anything in return for either article, except a few feathers. They were, however, very desirous to exchange weapons with their new acquaintances, which being, of course, refused, they endeavoured to seize upon them by force. The hanger of Mr. Green was snatched from him by a native, who drew back, waving it above his head exultingly, the rest became extremely insolent, and others were seen coming to join from the opposite side of the river. Mr. Banks fired at the man who had taken the hanger with small shot; but though wounded, he still continued to retreat, upon which Mr. Monkhouse took aim with ball, and killed him on the spot. Upon this the natives, of whom the main body had retired to a rock in the middle of the river, again approached, but on being fired upon with small shot, by which two or three of them were wounded, they swam to the shore, and retreated slowly up the country.

The English re-embarked and proceeded in three boats round the head of the bay in search of fresh water, that of the river being salt. It was while thus engaged that the distressing transaction occurred which af-

fixed so deep a stain on the fair fame of our illustrious circumnavigator, who has himself described the circumstances of the affair.

Two canoes were seen coming in from seaward, one under sail, the other worked with paddles. Cook "thought this a good opportunity to get some of the natives into his possession," and resolved to intercept the canoes, one of which perceiving his intention, made for the nearest point of land and so escaped; the other sailed on, without discerning it, till she was in the midst of the English boats. Nothing daunted, however, on discovering their position, the natives on board of her instantly struck their sail, and commenced paddling so briskly that she outran the boat, Tupia meanwhile calling out to them to come alongside, and assuring them they would receive no hurt.

"They chose, however," says Cook, "rather to trust to their paddles than our promises, and continued to make from us with all their power. I then ordered a musket to be fired over their heads, as the least exceptional expedient, hoping it would either make them surrender or leap into the water." The natives, seven in number, did neither, but immediately stripped, as is their custom when preparing to fight, and on their assailants coming up with them, they defended themselves so vigorously with their paddles, and with stones and other offensive weapons, that according to Cook, the English "were obliged to fire upon them." Four were killed, and the other three, who were boys, instantly leaped into the water." The eldest, who appeared about nineteen years of age, swam strongly, and was with difficulty overpowered; the other two, of whom the younger was about eleven years old, were more easily captured. Once in the boat, every endeavour was made to sooth them; they were loaded with presents of food and clothing, and the next day put on shore.

The conduct of Cook in first endeavouring to seize by force seven unoffending natives, and then because they bravely resisted his unlawful attempt, ordering his men to fire upon them, thereby rendering himself guilty of the death of four of his fellow-creatures, admits no palliation. In commenting upon this painful subject, he says, "I am conscious that the feeling of every reader of humanity will censure me for having fired upon these unhappy people; and it is impossible that upon a calm

reflection I should approve it myself. They certainly did not deserve death for not choosing to confide in my promises, or not consenting to come on board my boat, even if they had apprehended no danger; but the *nature of my service required me* to obtain a knowledge of the country, which I could no otherwise effect than by forcing my way into it in a hostile manner, or gaining admission through the confidence and goodwill of the people." He further adds in extenuation, that though in the contest, "which he had *not the least reason* to expect, the victory might have been complete without *so great an expense of life*, yet in such situations when the command to fire has been given, *no man can restrain its excess, or prescribe its effect*." Surely the most zealous advocate of universal peace could scarcely utter in its behalf language more forcible than these last few words! yet it is evident from the preceding sentence that Cook but faintly understood the twofold guilt that man incurs who sheds innocent blood in a quarrel he has himself provoked. I have dwelt on this distressing incident, not simply on account of its marked bearing upon our early intercourse with the New Zealanders, but because, however harsh it may seem to many, I cannot avoid viewing the subsequent fate of Cook at Owhyhee as a striking fulfilment of the divine decree, that "whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed." I know the danger of rashly interpreting the ways of God to man, but there are cases, and I believe this to be one of them, which offer warnings that ought not to be overlooked, and cannot be misunderstood.

To resume the narrative, Cook, after landing the three poor youths, left the scene or their misfortunes, which he named *Poverty Bay* (see Map), and sailed to the southward; on the following day, as the vessel lay becalmed, a canoe came fearlessly alongside, containing among others one of the people whom the English had seen during their first visit to the shore. The desire of trading conquered alike the fears and revengeful feeling of the natives—seven other canoes speedily approached, and a friendly traffic commenced. At Cape Kidnapper another unhappy affray occurred; the natives, while trading with the ship's crew, suddenly attempted to carry off Tupia's son, probably supposing him to be a New Zealand child. Cook fired on them, and killed several, before the boy, (who

leaped out of the canoe) was recovered. After sailing as far south as $40^{\circ} 34'$, in long. $182^{\circ} 55'$ west, eighteen leagues S.S.W. from Cape Kidnapper, called by Cook *Cape Turnagain*, he changed his direction and sailed to the northward, touching at various points along the coast, and holding amicable communication with the natives, who were found engaged in the cultivation of the kumera or sweet potato, the coco or edda (well known in the East and West Indies), and some gourds, in ground well broken, evenly tilled, and neatly fenced in.

At *Mercury Bay*, Cook landed to observe the transit of the planet Mercury, and took possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, a ceremony which he repeated in *Queen Charlotte's Sound*, and several other places; then rounding North Cape, he proceeded down the east coast, saw *Taranaki*, which he named *Mount Egmont*, and sailing through the strait since distinguished by his name, demonstrated the insularity of the northern portion of New Zealand. He then followed down the eastern coasts of the Middle and Southern islands, without however discovering the channel by which they are separated, turned South Cape, and traced the opposite shores back to Cook's Strait. Giving to the north-west extremity of Middle Island the name of *Cape Farewell*, he took his departure from thence on the 31st of March, 1770, resolving—since the season of the year and the character of his vessel forbade his attempting to return to England by Cape Horn, and so finally determine whether there was or was not a southern continent—to steer westward, and visit the Australian coast on his homeward route. (See Div. iii. p. 366.)

He afterwards remarks, that this voyage had swept away at least three-fourths of the positions upon which the notion of its existence was founded, having demonstrated that the land seen by "Tasman, Juan Fernandez, Hernite, the commander of a Dutch squadron, Quiros, and Roggewein, and supposed to be part of a continent, was not so, and likewise refuted the theoretical arguments which asserted the necessity of their being a continent of sufficient size to preserve an equilibrium between the two hemispheres; for upon that principle the extent proved to be water would render the southern hemisphere too light."

While the *Endeavour* was engaged in tracing the northern coasts of New Zealand, a singular coincidence occurred, the same

inlet being sighted in the same day by two vessels, each unconscious of the vicinity of the other.

Doubtless, or *Lauriston Bay*, received its former appellation from Cook, who passed it on the morning of the 12th of December, 1769; the latter was given to it by M. de Surville, who in the evening arrived off these shores in command of the *St. Jean Baptiste*, a French vessel, which had sailed from India in March, 1769, in search of a marvellous island abounding in gold, which it was rumoured the English had discovered, situated some seven hundred leagues from the southern point of America.

The French were well received by the islanders, and a boat containing the invalids of De Surville's crew being prevented by a violent gale from rejoining their vessel, and detained on shore two days, the men treated with much hospitality by Naginui the chief of the district, who on their leaving would accept of no remuneration. De Surville returned this kindness by the most base ingratitude, for, enraged by the loss of a small boat which he had missed during the storm, and suspecting the natives of having stolen it, he treacherously invited Naginui on board, and made him a prisoner. He then burned to the ground the village in which his men had found shelter in their need, weighed anchor, and sailed for South America, bearing with him the unhappy chief, who pined away, and died after three months' captivity. His persecutor survived him only twelve days, meeting his death in a hasty attempt to land at Callao, the port of Peru, during the flood-tide.* Crime in all ages and among all nations begets crime. Even among Christian communities the retaliation, not the forgiveness of injuries, would seem to be the leading principle of action. What wonder, then, that these poor New Zealanders, who had never heard that vengeance belongeth unto the Lord, should, while standing beside the ashes of their desolated homes, or gazing, heart-sick, on the moving prison into which their chief had been inveigled, have felt their spirits stirred with an intense desire to avenge in blood his wrongs and theirs; not, it is true, on the head of the guilty author of all this misery, for he was already far beyond their reach, but on the first of his tribe who should come within it. They well knew that the Europeans possessed weapons con-

* See *Voyages aux Indes Orientales*. Tom. iii. Par l'Abbé Kochon.

pared with which their stone hatchets and wooden lances, were as the toys of children; open warfare it would consequently be madness to wage; in their turn, therefore, they must follow the example of treachery and ingratitude they had just received—inspire confidence,—and betray it, as theirs had been betrayed.

An opportunity for putting their cruel resolve in execution occurred while the atrocities that had provoked it were yet fresh in their remembrance.

Captain Marion du Fresne, the unhappy results of whose visit to Van Diemen's Island have been related, reached the western shores of New Zealand in March, 1772, and after doubling Cape Maria Van Diemen, sailed past Lauriston Bay, and anchored in the Bay of Islands. The natives came alongside in their canoes, and having been with much persuasion induced to go on board, they ate the food and accepted the presents offered to them, appearing delighted with their reception; several even remaining all night in the ship. The only part of their conduct calculated to excite the slightest suspicion in the minds of their new acquaintances was, that on returning to the shore, they were observed to strip themselves of the clothes which had been newly given to them, and resume their old ones; in every other respect they behaved to all appearance, with the utmost cordiality. This intercourse was rendered more easy, by the discovery of the resemblance between the language of the New Zealanders and that of the Tahitians, of which the French had a vocabulary on board: gradually all reserve seemed to vanish in mutual confidence, the officers and the crew visited, and even slept in the villages of the natives, shared their meals, and made excursions into the interior, accompanied by certain individuals, who had more especially attached themselves to the Europeans. Marion himself, whom the New Zealanders speedily perceived to be invested with supreme authority over his associates, was treated by them with every mark of enthusiastic affection; while he, on his part, unsuspecting of the horrible design concealed beneath so much fair seeming, went freely among them, avowing openly his entire confidence in their sincerity. The first lieutenant of the *Mascarin*, M. Crozet, from whose papers the Abbé Rochon compiled the account of the voyage from which these statements are derived, declares that

he vainly remonstrated with his commander on the imprudence of his conduct, and that he likewise warned his brother officers, but equally without effect.

Days and even weeks passed away, until the 8th of June arrived, without anything having occurred to justify the misgivings entertained by Crozet. On that day Marion went on shore, and was received with more than ordinary demonstrations of honour by the natives, who thronging round him, fastened on his head the four white feathers which form among them the insignia of chieftainship; probably thereby designing to render their intended victim, in some sort, the equal of the hapless Naginui. The French commander returned to his ship, delighted with the attention shewn him, and more confident than ever in the kind feeling of the islanders; but it was afterwards remembered that a youth, who had been on board all that day would eat nothing, refused any remuneration for some trifles he had brought with him, and departed in the evening apparently overwhelmed by sadness, and from that time neither he nor any other native revisited the vessel.

On the morning of the 12th, Marion again went on shore on a fishing excursion, accompanied by four officers and twelve men. The natives came to welcome the party, and proffered to carry them from the boat on their shoulders, to save them the inconvenience of stepping in the water. On landing, Marion and the officers went their way, and the seamen dispersed, as they were accustomed to do, to gather wood for the boat; while thus separated, the islanders surrounded them in overwhelming numbers, and on a given signal, fell upon them and beat out their brains with their stone hatchets. Of the twelve sailors one only escaped, he having been attacked by a smaller number of assailants, contrived, though wounded, to escape from them, and concealed himself in some thick underwood. From his hiding-place he saw the dead bodies of his messmates cut open and divided by their murderers, who at length left the spot, each one bearing away his portion of the horrid spoil; the fugitive then fled to the water, and the next morning swam to his ship. On hearing his sickening story, grief and indignation for the fate of the men was almost lost in anxiety—not so much for their captain and the officers who had accompanied him, for there was little room

for hope or fear on their account, but for a body of sixty men under the command of Lieutenant Crozet, who had been for some time occupied in cutting down trees, at a distance from the spot where the cruel massacre had been perpetrated. The long-boat of the *Mascarin* was immediately sent off with a strong party well armed, to communicate with Crozet; who, by a stratagem practised by Cook on a previous occasion on one of the islands of this very bay, succeeded in safely embarking his whole party. The natives followed them in crowds to the water-side, shrieking in their ears with savage triumph, and declaring that Tacouri (their chief) had killed and eaten Marion; but made no attempt to attack them, until they beheld them making preparations to enter the boat. At this sight their savage fury appeared about to break every bond, when Crozet, seizing his musket, commanded them to stand back, and drawing a line on the ground, threatened to shoot the first man who should overstep it. He then desired them to sit down, and instantly the whole of the natives, amounting to fully a thousand men, obeyed him, and remained seated until the last European had stepped into the boat; then, rising at once with a loud shout, as if released from a spell, they hurled a shower of stones and spears after the retreating party, who now able to retaliate, poured in volley after volley of musketry on the wretched multitude, who, stupefied with terror, actually stood still to be shot at. According to Crozet, they would all have been destroyed, had he not at length restrained his men from the further prosecution of their murderous work, and proceeded to the small island of Motu Roa, to remove the sick stationed there. This duty having been safely performed, it became necessary to procure a supply of wood and water before putting to sea; in accomplishing this object, a village in the above-named island (whose population at that period was estimated at about three hundred individuals), was attacked by the French, in consequence of its inhabitants evidencing some disposition to interrupt them. In this affair a great many of the natives were killed, but with such determination did they resist every attempt to capture them, that no prisoners could be secured: their children and women had been previously removed in anticipation of this conflict. Before the *Mascarin* and her companion vessel the *Marquis de Castries*

quitted the country, which they did on the 14th of July, 1772, Crozet, who succeeded Marion in the command, took possession of it in the name of his sovereign, calling it France Australe, and made a last attempt to set at rest any lingering doubt that might remain concerning the fate of Marion and his companions, by sending an armed party on the shore to make every possible search and inquiry. On arriving at the pah or village belonging to Tacouri, they found it deserted, except by a few old men, but were just in time to see the chief himself escaping, dressed in the cloth mantle of their unfortunate commander. In Tacouri's dwelling, they found several pieces of human flesh, some raw, and others roasted: in another hut they picked up part of a shirt, marked with Marion's name; and traced various other evidences of the horrible tragedy, doubtless enacted in this vicinity. They set fire to the pah, and also to another at a little distance, whose inhabitants had likewise sought safety in flight.

Thus terminated this ill-fated expedition, by which little additional information was acquired respecting New Zealand, for the French, during the four months they spent on its shores, visited only a portion of the coast line of the Northern island, which had previously been circumnavigated and described by Cook. On the minds of the natives, a deep and lasting impression remains of the fearful massacre by which their treachery was requited; and they continue, to the present time, to manifest a strong aversion to the Wee Wee's (oui oui), or "tribe of Marion." Nine months after the departure of the French vessels, New Zealand was revisited by Cook, who, having completed his first voyage round the world, and returned to England in July, 1771, had been shortly after appointed to lead another expedition, designed for the further exploration of the southern hemisphere.

Two ships (built for the coal trade), were purchased and equipped, the larger, named the *Resolution*, with a complement of 112 men, being placed under the command of Cook; the smaller, named the *Adventure*, with eighty-one men, being entrusted to Captain Tobias Furneaux. The vessels sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of July, 1772. Happily, the spirits of the voyagers were unsaddened by a knowledge of the calamities which had befallen the last adventurers in New Zealand, and the heavy hearts with which the survivors were then preparing to

leave its shores, their depression being, it is to be hoped, rendered deeper by the recollection of the savage butchery by which they had, in their turn, gratified that most blind, headlong, and cruel passion—revenge.

On the 30th of October, the *Resolution* and *Adventure* reached the Cape of Good Hope. On the 17th of January, 1773, they crossed the Antarctic circle, in $39^{\circ} 35'$ E. long., and proceeded south, until they attained to $67^{\circ} 15'$ S. lat., where their further progress was barred by immense masses of ice, among which Captain Cook deemed it imprudent, if indeed, it were not impracticable, to attempt a passage. He then changed his direction, and, after some further search for a *southern continent*, between the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope and New Zealand, during which the two ships became separated in a thick fog, he resolved to quit the high southern latitudes, and proceed to the latter place, hoping, on his way, to be enabled to visit the east coast of Van Diemen's Land, and ascertain whether it joined the coast of Australia. This he was prevented from doing by the wind continuing between north and west; he, therefore, shaped his course for New Zealand, whose western shore he sighted on the 25th of March, and, on the following day, anchored in Dusky bay (Middle Island), having been 117 days at sea, and sailed nearly 11,000 miles, without having once descried land. Here he remained till the 11th of May, the few inhabitants whom he found in this locality being easily conciliated. It is, however, but just to state, that Cook, on first meeting them, introduced himself in a manner which proved that he had profited by dear-bought experience. Instead of going on shore, as he had done on a previous occasion, accompanied by an armed party, and thus exciting the fears and suspicions of the natives; Cook, on perceiving a man standing upon the point of a rock, with a club in his hand, and attended by two women, each bearing a spear, threw towards them some trifling presents, such as medals, beads, &c., then landed alone, went up to the man, embraced him, and thus at once dissipated his alarm. Presently, the women joined them, and likewise some of the English from the boat: a friendly, but unfortunately not very intelligible conversation ensued, during which the volubility of the younger of the two females drew from one of the seamen the blunt remark, that "women did not want for tongue in any

part of the world." The intercourse thus auspiciously commenced was uninterrupted by any disagreement, and the voyagers pursued their explorations inland without any molestation. From Dusky bay, the *Resolution* proceeded northward along the coast to Cook's strait, and, on the 18th, joined the *Adventure* in Ship cove, where she had lain at anchor since the 7th of April. The vessels were visited by the natives, who made many inquiries concerning Tupia, the Tahitian who had accompanied Cook on his previous expedition, and appeared concerned when informed of his death at Batavia. Gardens were laid out on shore, stocked with various seeds; potatoes, turnips, carrots, and parsnips planted; and no animal, except the dog, being known to exist on any part of New Zealand, a ewe and ram, pigs, and goats were left for breeding. The ewe and ram, brought from the Cape of Good Hope, and preserved thus far with so much care, died the morning after they were landed, having, it is supposed, eaten of some poisonous plant.

The two ships continued here until the 7th of June, and then set sail to explore between the latitudes of 41° and 46° south, until they should arrive in the longitude of 140° or 135° west, purposing, in the event of no land being discovered, to proceed to Otaheite. This portion of their voyage bears no relation to our present subject, but it may be well to say that Cook so far accomplished his mission as to demonstrate, that if any southern continent existed, it must at least be situated in a very high latitude (as it really is, being within the antarctic circle.) On the 21st of October, 1773, the *Resolution* and *Adventure* again made the land of New Zealand, Table Cape (Northern Island) being first visible. In sailing along the east coast the two ships finally parted company during a heavy gale. Cook then proceeded to Queen Charlotte's Sound, and there for three weeks vainly awaited the arrival of Captain Furneaux. He found the gardens in a flourishing state, and everything he had planted untouched, except the potatoes, most of which had been dug up. Of the live stock only one sow remained. Cook had brought several hogs, and likewise fowls, from the Society Islands. Some of these he gave to the New Zealanders, while others he landed without their knowledge. During this visit Cook speaks of the people as certainly in some state of civilization. "Their behaviour to

us," he says, "was manly and mild, showing on all occasions a readiness to oblige. They have some arts among them which they execute with judgment and unwearied patience; they are far less addicted to thieving than the other islanders of the South Sea, and I believe those in the same tribe, or such as are at peace with one another, are strictly honest among themselves." Notwithstanding these favourable statements, Cook positively affirms his belief in their cannibalism, but declares that they eat no other human flesh than that of their enemies slain in battle. On this much disputed point, very revolting evidence was obtained. Returning on board after a brief absence, he found the quarter-deck crowded with natives, and was informed that one of his officers having brought from the shore the mangled head of a youth recently killed, had given a portion of the flesh to a native, who had broiled and eaten it with surprising avidity. This loathsome act was repeated by the order and in the presence of Cook; several seamen became sick at the horrid sight, and Oedidee, a youth who had joined the *Resolution* during her visit to the Society Isles, manifested the most passionate indignation, calling the English "vile men" for having permitted it, and vehemently upbraiding the individual, or, as Cook calls him, the *gentleman* who had cut off the flesh, refusing to accept or even touch the knife with which it had been done.

Despairing of the coming of her consort, the *Resolution* set sail once again upon a fruitless search for a South Pacific continent. In the garden laid out on Ship Cove, a bottle containing instructions for Captain Furneaux was buried underneath the stump of a tree, on which was cut the words "Look underneath." Eight days after the departure of Cook, the *Adventure* arrived, having been detained by adverse winds in Tolaga Bay, and found the directions left for her guidance. Having refreshed and refitted, Captain Furneaux, previous to starting, sent a cutter with two officers and eight men to Grass Cove, there to gather wild greens (a kind of spinach) for the ship's company. The boat not returning, the launch, under the command of Lieutenant (afterwards Admiral) Burney, well manned, and accompanied by ten marines, was dispatched in search of her. The result was the discovery that another fearful massacre had been committed; not, however, in the opinion of Captain Furneaux himself, in pursuance of

any premeditated plan on the part of the natives, but occasioned by some sudden quarrel which had been decided on the spot. Lieutenant Burney, on reaching a small beach adjoining Grass Cove, saw a very large double canoe just hauled up, with two men, who on perceiving the launch immediately ran to the woods. On the shore were about twenty provision baskets, some of which were filled with fern-root (used by the natives for bread), others with the roasted flesh of the missing seamen. A hand was recognized as having belonged to Thomas Hill, one of the fore-castle men, the initials T. H. having been tattooed upon it at Otaheite; several shoes were likewise found, among others those of Mr. Wodehouse (a midshipman). At Grass Cove large numbers of the islanders were assembled, who hallooed to the English, and made signs to them to land, but they were soon dispersed by volleys from the marines, whose fire was not very destructive, for their muskets having got wet, several of them missed fire. While seeking for the lost cutter, along the back of the beach, a shocking scene presented itself—the heads, hearts, and lungs of the murdered men being found on the ground, while at a little distance the dogs were gnawing their entrails. The mangled remains were collected and placed in the launch, which then returned to the ship, Lieutenant Burney and Mr. Fanning being of opinion that it was useless to incur danger by proceeding, as they "could expect to reap no other advantage than the poor satisfaction of killing some more of the savages."*

Captain Furneaux was compelled by the state of the wind to remain in the *Sound* four days after this horrible transaction, during which time none of the inhabitants made their appearance; he then proceeded to England, *via* the Cape of Good Hope, without seeing any more of Cook, who meanwhile traversed the Southern Pacific, and returned to his old anchorage in Ship Cove, in October, 1774. The natives did not approach the vessel, and nothing was seen of them until one day, Cook, unsuspecting of their just cause of alarm, proceeded in search of them. When he and his companions were recognised, joy immediately took place of fear; those who had fled to the woods hurried from their hiding-places

* Cook was informed by the natives, in 1777, that not one shot fired by Lieutenant Burney's party had taken effect, so as to kill or even to hurt a single person.

to join in welcoming the visitors, leaping and skipping about like madmen. From their vague and contradictory statements, when questioned concerning the *Adventure*, Cook could gain little information beyond the fact of her having anchored in the Cove during his absence, which he had already conjectured from having observed that several trees had been recently cut down with saws and axes, together with other indications of a similar nature. On the 11th of November, Cook sailed from New Zealand, taking his departure a third time from Cape Palliser; touching at the Cape of Good Hope on his homeward route, he there received a letter left for him by Captain Furneaux, containing an account of the loss of the cutter and her crew. On the 30th of July, 1775, he reached England, after an absence of three years and eight months, having during this arduous expedition lost but four men, and only one of them by sickness.

In 1777, our skilful navigator paid his fifth and last visit to New Zealand, while performing his third voyage round the world in the *Resolution*, accompanied by the *Discovery*. The first land made was Rocky Point, on the west coast of Middle Island; thence, Cook proceeded to his old moorings in Queen Charlotte's Sound, where he had not lain long before the inhabitants, apparently recognising his ship, came alongside; but on seeing Omai, a native of the Society Isles, who had been on board the *Adventure* at the time of the massacre, they drew back, fearing that Cook having become acquainted with their guilt, intended to avenge his countrymen. On being assured that he entertained no hostile intention, they readily laid aside distrust, and the English having formed an encampment on shore, a great number of families came from different parts of the coast, and took up their residence close to them. When all alarm as to its consequences was removed, they spoke freely of the fate of the crew of the cutter, pointing out the place where the butchery had been committed. However cross-questioned, they constantly affirmed that (as Captain Furneaux surmised) it had been wholly unpremeditated, but differed in their accounts of the originating cause. Some stated that while the boat's crew were sitting at dinner, a native brought a stone hatchet to barter; the sailor to whom it was offered took it, and would neither return or give anything

in exchange, on which the owner of it snatched up some bread as an equivalent, and then a quarrel ensued, in which two New Zealanders were shot dead by the only two muskets fired; for before the English had time to discharge a third, they were overpowered by numbers, and immediately put to death. Others described the affray to have arisen between the natives and a black servant belonging to Captain Furneaux, who had been left in charge of the boat. Both statements may be true, as they agree in point of time, for it is very possible that some of the natives may have been endeavouring to rob the boat, while others (with or without the excuse assigned), were taking some liberties with the property of the people on shore, which being too hastily resented, led to a fearful result.*

Within a fortnight the ships again put to sea, and Captain Cook took his final leave of New Zealand. The kindness which, during this and the three preceding visits he had manifested to the natives, and the confidence which he had reposed in them had entirely obliterated the painful impression created by his early conduct, and they long retained an affectionate remembrance of him, and neglected no opportunity of making enquires concerning him, appearing grieved and indignant when informed of his untimely fate.

New Zealand remained unvisited by any European ships from 1777 to 1791, when Captain Vancouver touched at Dusky Bay, while engaged on an expedition to survey and explore the north-west coast of America. About this time an intercourse sprang up with the newly formed British settlement at Sydney Cove, and various whaling and sealing ships began shortly after to frequent these shores.

In 1793, the governor of New South Wales, sent a vessel to the Bay of Islands, with orders to bring away one or two of the inhabitants and convey them to Norfolk Island, where it was hoped they would instruct the English in their method of dressing the description of flax (*phormium tenax*), which abounds there, as in New Zealand. Two natives were accordingly enticed on board, and immediately carried away. On arriving at their destination they were not unwilling to impart any information in their possession, but on the desired point they were completely ignorant, the operation in question being among them the peculiar

* See Cook's third voyage, p. 51.

province of the women, and they somewhat haughtily informed Captain King the superintendent of the settlement, that one of them being a warrior and the other a priest, the dressing of flax had never made any part of their studies.* But although uninitiated in the mysteries of spinning and weaving, they were able to communicate many details respecting the geographical and political condition of their country, and even drew a map or chart of the Northern Island, which was found to bear a great similitude to Captain Cook's delineation. They remained a considerable time at Norfolk Island, and were then safely restored to their native country, favourably impressed by the kindness with which they had been treated by Captain King and his family.

Emboldened by this example, several of the natives who, (like most islanders, have an innate love of maritime pursuits,) made cruises in different vessels, some of them visited New South Wales, where they were kindly received by Governor Macquarie, and sent back with presents of live stock, and useful seeds, and whatever else was likely to inspire them with a desire for civilisation; but their admiration was, unhappily, most generally excited by the varied and efficient means of warfare possessed by the Europeans. At length, a powerful chief, named Tippahee, accompanied by his five sons, came to Port Jackson, and on seeing the different arts and manufactures carried on by the settlers, was so affected by the conviction thus forced upon him, of the barbarous state of ignorance in which his own country was shrouded, that he burst into tears, and exclaimed in the bitterness of his heart, "New Zealand no good." On returning to his home near the Bay of Islands, Tippahee took with him a young Englishman, named George Bruce, to whom he gave one of his daughters in marriage. Bruce used his influence, which was considerable, for the benefit of such vessels as touched at the island, and lived very contentedly, until a ship named the *General Wellesley* put in at a part of the coast where he and his wife chanced to be; her commander, a Captain Dalrymple, induced them, by the most solemn assurances of bringing them back in safety, to come on board, in order to assist him in searching for gold dust, which he expected to discover somewhere

about the North Cape. Being unsuccessful in his investigations, Dalrymple, regardless of the remonstrances and entreaties of his unfortunate passengers, refused to fulfil his promise of landing them at the Bay of Islands, and retaining them both, proceeded on his voyage to India. He left Bruce at Malacca, but carried off his wife to Penang, where he sold her to a Captain Ross; Bruce contrived to follow her, and by the interference of the governor, she was restored to him. After several delays and disappointments, the two were conveyed to Calcutta by Sir Edward Pellew, whence it was expected they would obtain a passage to New South Wales, and from thence reach New Zealand. Whether they ever succeeded in regaining their native country has not been recorded, as the account from which the foregoing statements are derived, was written while they were still in India.†

The year 1809 is memorable in the annals of New Zealand for a most fearful butchery. Towards the close of the year, the *Boyd* left Sydney for England, with seventy persons on board, besides four or five New Zealanders, whom her master, Captain Thompson, promised to convey back to their native country, it being his intention to touch there on his way, to make up his cargo by taking in some spars for the Cape of Good Hope. Among the New Zealanders was the son of one of the chiefs, known among the sailors by the name of George, who, during the voyage, refused to work, pleading in excuse, his rank, but still more his ill-health. The captain treated both representations with ridicule, and had him twice tied up to the gangway and severely flogged, at the same time lessening his allowance of food. In reply to the taunting assertion that he was no chief, George merely remarked, "that they would find him to be such, on their arrival in his country;" and so well did he disguise the revengeful passions excited by the treatment he had received, as to succeed in persuading the captain to put in at Wangaroa (where his tribe resided), as the best place for procuring the spars, although it was not known that the harbour had ever before been visited by any European vessel. On arriving, the crafty savage landed alone, and after a brief interview with some of his tribe, returned to the ship, and invited the captain to come on shore

* Collins' *History of New South Wales*, p. 343.

† See Turnbull's *Voyage round the World*, and the

volume on the "New Zealanders" in the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*.

and point out the trees that would suit his purpose. Three boats were accordingly manned, and the captain landed and proceeded with his party towards a wood, which they had no sooner entered, than they were attacked by the savages, and every one of them put to instant death. George and his associates disguised themselves in the clothes of their victims (it being now dusk), and went off in the boats to the *Boyd*,—got on board by a stratagem, and there slaughtered indiscriminately every man, woman, and child, excepting five seamen who had escaped to the shrouds, and a woman, two children, and a cabin-boy whom George preserved in gratitude for kindness he had received from him during the voyage. When morning dawned upon the ill-fated vessel, the sailors who had taken refuge in the rigging still maintained their dreary watch; at length, Tippahee, the chief whose visit to New South Wales has been related, came alongside in his canoe, and informing them that he had just arrived from the Bay of Islands to trade for dried fish, offered them his protection. The men descended, entered his canoe, were safely landed by him, although closely pursued by the Wangaroa tribe; but the savages leaping on shore, soon overtook them all, and forcibly detaining the old chief, murdered them before his face.*

The ship was thoroughly ransacked; the muskets and ammunition were deemed invaluable; and the father of George, eager to try a gun, of which he had taken possession, burst in the head of a cask of gunpowder, filled the pan, snapped the lock over the cask, and was himself, with thirteen of his companions, blown to atoms. The ship took fire, and burnt to the water's edge.

The four individuals whose lives had been spared were rescued from their distressing position by the intrepidity of Mr. Berry, the supercargo of the *City of Edinburgh*. While engaged in taking in spars, he was informed of the melancholy tragedy which had very recently been enacted. He immediately resolved to ascertain if any persons belonging

to the *Boyd* yet survived; and, at the risk of his own life, succeeded in rescuing the whole four. The last he recovered was a little girl, two or three years old, who, on being subsequently questioned respecting her mother, drew her hand across her throat; and on further inquiry, said, with every appearance of painful feeling, that the people had cut her up, and eaten her, like victuals.*

The destruction of the *Boyd*, at Wangaroa, did not deter English vessels from continuing to visit other ports in New Zealand, or prevent the whalers and sealers from pursuing their avocation on its shores, which then abounded in the objects of their pursuit, especially in seals; but it materially impeded the sanguine hopes entertained for the amelioration of the moral and social condition of the inhabitants, by throwing all their better qualities into the shade, and rendering them, in the eyes of ordinary observers, brutal and irreclaimable savages. Some philanthropic individuals, nevertheless, maintained a more correct appreciation of the better parts of the character of the New Zealanders; and, hopefully anticipating for them a brighter future, struggled on, through discouragements of every kind, to further the good cause. Of these estimable persons, the one most strongly impressed with the capabilities of the New Zealanders for Christian civilization was the Rev. Samuel Marsden, senior chaplain of New South Wales, to whose excellent character I have previously adverted. (Div. iii. p. 409.) Whenever any of the New Zealanders arrived at Sydney, they found a protector in this good man, whose hospitable mansion at Parramatta became their temporary home. There I often witnessed the efforts made for their instruction, not only in reading and writing, but also in agriculture and the mechanical arts.

The remarkable aptitude evinced by this singular people for the acquisition of knowledge, and their disposition to embrace the doctrines of Christianity, had led Mr. Marsden, in the year 1808, to suggest to the Church Missionary Society of London, for

* The presence of Tippahee was peculiarly unfortunate, not only was he the unwilling instrument of delivering the seamen into the hands of their ruthless assassins, but some of his enemies informed the masters of four or five whaling vessels, who shortly after the massacre landed at the Bay of Islands, that he had instigated it, whereupon the whalers united their forces, and attacking the island where he resided, murdered the inhabitants without regard to sex or

age, and burned or destroyed whatever grew or stood upon the soil. Tippahee himself, though severely wounded, escaped with life. He was subsequently killed in an encounter with the people of Wangaroa, which is said to have originated in the deplorable events detailed. Tippahee's tribe afterwards murdered three sailors in revenge for the attack on their island.

† See Mr. Berry's narrative, *Constable's Miscellany*, pp. 350, 351.

whom he acted as agent, the formation of a missionary establishment at New Zealand; recommending that the persons selected for the purpose should, simultaneously with intellectual and spiritual knowledge, be fitted to instruct the natives in the pursuits of agriculture and the mechanical arts; considering that, thus conjoined, Christianity and civilization might rapidly overspread the land.

The society entered cordially into his views, and sent three missionaries, Messrs. Hall, King, and Kendall, with their families, to New South Wales, where they remained for a considerable time, being unable to obtain a passage to the Bay of Islands, on account of the fear entertained, by the ship-masters, of the natives in that vicinity.

In these apprehensions Mr. Marsden did not share. His personal intercourse with some of the New Zealanders had convinced him that his projects in their favour would be warmly seconded by several of the more influential of their chiefs. Of these, the one on whom he placed most reliance was Duaterra, a near relation of Tippahee's, and subsequently his successor as chief of their tribe. Duaterra was a man of clear understanding and commanding appearance, and possessed a degree of acquaintance with the English language very rarely attained by a New Zealander, which rendered him an invaluable auxiliary to the missionaries.

It may be well to recount briefly the series of events which brought Duaterra under the notice of Mr. Marsden, especially as the vicissitudes of his early life afford, it is to be feared, a sample of the injustice and cruelty with which some of the whalers and sealers (a class too generally composed of men of dissolute and lawless lives) treated the natives, whose revengeful passions were, as we have seen in the case of George, often fatally called into action. Duaterra, when a youth of about twenty, formed an ardent desire to visit England and see King George. He accordingly shipped himself as a common sailor on board the *Santa Anna*, then bound on a voyage to Bounty Island for a cargo of seal-skins. On arriving there, he and thirteen others were put on shore to kill seals, while the vessel proceeded for supplies to Norfolk Island and New Zealand, leaving the fourteen men very insufficiently furnished with provisions. Five months elapsed before she returned, during which time Duaterra and his companions had undergone such extreme suffering from thirst

and hunger, no water and scarcely any food being procurable on the island, that three of them had died. They had, however, collected about ten thousand skins; with which the *Santa Anna* proceeded on her way to England, and at length arrived in the Thames in July, 1809. Poor Duaterra thought the object for which he had patiently endured so many hardships at length attained, but soon learned that he was as far from it as ever. Instead of succeeding in obtaining a sight of the king, he was told at one time that he would never be able to find the house, at another that nobody was permitted to see his majesty. The master of the *Santa Anna*, a person named Moody, would scarcely permit him to go on shore, and never allowed him to spend a night out of the ship, peremptorily refused to give him either wages or clothing, and in about a fortnight put him on board the *Ann*, a vessel on the eve of sailing with a body of convicts for New South Wales. It providentially happened that Mr. Marsden at this very time was preparing to return to the scene of his labours. He embarked in the *Ann* at Spithead, and there found Duaterra dangerously ill from the effects of bodily and mental suffering, spitting blood, and miserably clad. The New Zealand chief received from the Christian minister, and through him from the master and surgeon every attention; his health was gradually restored, and he cheerfully resumed the duties of a common sailor. On arriving at Sydney, in February, 1810, Duaterra accompanied Mr. Marsden to his private residence, and there remained until November, diligently employed in learning husbandry and useful arts. The chief entered warmly into the project of Mr. Marsden for the establishment of a Christian Mission in his country—offered a grant of land, and promised to protect the missionaries, their families, and friends. Accompanied by three of his countrymen, he shipped on board a whaler named the *Frederick*, in order to regain his native land. On reaching *North Cape*, the New Zealanders went on shore, and returned to the vessel with abundant supplies of potatoes and pork, expecting to be landed according to their agreement at the Bay of Islands. But the inhuman master (whose name is not recorded) refused to fulfil his promise, although the ship was actually at the mouth of the bay, and carried away the unfortunate natives to Norfolk Island, where he first

made them go on shore to get water, in which attempt they were all nearly drowned in the surf, and then, having no further occasion for their services, left three of them on the island, taking the other (a son of Tippahee) with him. Of this youth nothing more is known, for the *Frederick* was taken on her passage home by an American privateer, after an action in which the master was mortally wounded, and the chief mate killed. Duaterra and his friends were found naked and famishing on Norfolk Island by Mr. Gwynn, master of the *Ann* whaler, who touched there soon after the departure of the *Frederick*. By him they were clothed, fed, and conveyed to Sydney, where Duaterra again sought an asylum beneath the roof of the good Samaritan of New South Wales, by whose kind offices he was eventually conveyed safely home, laden with seed wheat, agricultural tools, &c., bearing with him (notwithstanding his sufferings) a deep conviction of the blessings attendant on Christian civilization.

Shortly after Duaterra's return, Mr. Marsden resolved no longer to delay putting his cherished scheme in execution: the missionaries, on their part, were quite willing to make the attempt. Being still unable to hire a vessel, except on the most exorbitant terms, he purchased a brig, named the *Active*, resolving, should he succeed in establishing a settlement, to keep up constant communication with it. Not thinking it prudent to send the families of the settlers over in the first instance, he proposed going himself, accompanied by Messrs. Hall and Kendall. Governor Macquarie, alarmed for his safety, refused to permit him to depart, and he was therefore compelled to allow the *Active* to sail without him, sending by the above-named missionaries a message to Duaterra, inviting him to return in her to Port Jackson, and bring with him two or three other chiefs.

The arrival of the *Active* was hailed with joyous acclamation, Duaterra welcomed with delight the friends of his benefactor, and consented to return to Sydney along with two other chiefs, one the celebrated E'ongi, mis-spelt Shongai and Shungee, the other, a great warrior, named Korra-korra. This proceeding convinced Governor Macquarie of the friendly feeling entertained by the New Zealanders, and induced him to take steps for their protection against the frequent depredations committed by the masters and seamen of whaling vessels.

With the concurrence and co-operation of the two chiefs, Mr. Kendall was empowered to act as a magistrate in their country, and a proclamation was at the same time issued, dated "Government House, Sydney, New South Wales, 9th November, 1814," announcing, that it had "been represented to His Excellency the Governor, that the commanders and seamen of vessels touching at, or trading with, the islands of New Zealand, especially that part called the Bay of Islands, have been in the habit of offering gross insult and injury to the natives of those islands, by violently seizing on and carrying off several of them, both males and females, and treating them, in other respects, with injudicious and unwarrantable severity, to the great prejudices of the fair intercourses of trade, which might be otherwise productive of mutual advantages." His Excellency, in consequence, prohibited the removal of any natives from New Zealand, without the express permission of the chief or chiefs within whose territory the natives so to be embarked should happen to reside, such permission to be certified, in writing, under the hand of Mr. T. Kendall, the resident magistrate in the Bay of Islands, or the magistrate for the time being in the said district. By the same proclamation it was declared unlawful for any commander to land any person in New Zealand without the permission of the chiefs, confirmed by that of the resident magistrate. Such was the commencement of British authority in New Zealand, induced by no lust of territorial power, and no thirst for conquest; but simply by a desire to protect the people from aggression, and at the same time to confer a public sanction on the proceedings of the humble, but zealous ministers of the gospel, who, as messengers of its good tidings, were content to place in the hands of a people among whom cannibalism and infanticide were reported to be crimes of daily occurrence, not their own lives only, but those of their wives and little ones.

On the 19th of November, 1814, Mr. Marsden, accompanied by a gentleman named Nicholas (whose interesting work, entitled, *A Voyage to New Zealand*, contains much valuable information), the missionaries and their families, and the chiefs and their native attendants, embarked on board the *Active*, whose heterogeneous freight of horses and cattle, sheep and goats, cats and dogs, pigs and poultry, seemed as if collected in imitation of Noah's ark. When

on the eve of sailing, a strong gale commenced, by which the party were detained a week in the harbour.

During this time a sudden change was observed in the demeanour of Duaterra, which excited great uneasiness in the minds of the adventurers, who well knew how much (humanly speaking), depended upon his zealous co-operation,—his former lively and animated manner having totally given place to a kind of morose melancholy. The other two chiefs had likewise become moody and uncommunicative. At length Duaterra plainly declared, that he bitterly regretted the encouragement he had given to the missionaries, as he had just learnt from a gentleman at Sydney, that they would shortly introduce many others, and either destroy the natives, or reduce them to slavery; his informant (whose name Duaterra withheld from a principle of honour), bade him, if he doubted his assertions, look at the existing state of the natives of New South Wales, and inquire of them what treatment they had received from British colonists.

Mr. Marsden assured the New Zealanders that neither ambition nor avarice had prompted the present enterprise, and added that he was ready to afford the best proof of disinterestedness, by relanding the missionaries and their families, and never more attempting to hold any intercourse with their country; whereupon Duaterra, really solicitous to promote the civilization of his people, and moreover, gratefully attached to Mr. Marsden, implored his pardon for having for a moment doubted the single-mindedness of his views, and entreated him to proceed; at the same time warning him, that owing to the misrepresentation his companions had heard, he could not vouch for their good faith, and therefore advised that the settlement should be established in the Bay of Islands, where he and his tribe could easily protect it.

On receiving a promise that his wishes in this respect should be complied with, Duaterra resumed his usual good humour. This unexpected obstacle being removed, and the wind becoming favourable, the *Active* set sail, and reached North Cape on the 17th December. Here Duaterra landed to procure green fodder for the live stock. The chief of the district came off to the brig, and on being informed of the proclamation of the governor, and the intended establishment of the missionaries and their

families, he expressed his satisfaction, appearing, like the generality of his countrymen, pleased with the idea of white men taking up their abode in New Zealand. Among other chiefs from whom the party met a hospitable reception was George, the dreaded leader of the Boyd massacre. Duaterra, whose judgment and sincerity had been throughout implicitly relied on, having first had an interview with George, advised Mr. Marsden and the missionaries to visit the encampment where he and about a hundred and fifty warriors were assembled. Sensible of the importance of conciliating these people, the intrepid adventurers complied immediately, and, notwithstanding the horrible associations connected with them, and the sight of the dollars plundered from the *Boyd*, which they wore suspended as ornaments on their breasts, the meeting fully answered the desired purpose. As a proof of entire reliance on the good faith of their new allies, Mr. Marsden and Mr. Nicholas remained all night in the camp, lying down to rest, at the particular request of George, beside himself and his wife. George shewed them every attention in his power, and appeared very desirous to obtain their good opinion, nevertheless Mr. Nicholas states that there was an expression of malignity and treachery in his countenance, which, added to a coarse familiarity of manner, acquired from his intercourse with European sailors, and a sort of sneering impudence peculiar to himself, was calculated to make a very disagreeable impression, even upon those who did not previously regard him with abhorrence, as the perpetrator of a fearful crime.

In reply to the questions of Mr. Marsden, he gave an account of the catastrophe of the *Boyd*, very similar to that already related; but he showed no remorse for his wickedness, declaring himself to have been justified in thus revenging the insults and injuries causelessly heaped upon him both by the captain and the crew.

The following morning the two Englishmen returned to the *Active*, accompanied by George and other natives, among whom printed copies of Governor Macquarie's proclamation were distributed, the purport of it being explained to them by Duaterra, who then, turning to George, commenced an admonitory lecture, in which he assured him that the horrid deed he had committed would not be visited with retaliation; but that in the event of his ever again at-

tempting to cut off another vessel, "Governor Macquarie would send a ship with such a number of men as would instantly destroy every living soul at Wangaroa." On the 22nd of December the *Active* was steered into the Bay of Islands, by the directions of Duaterra, who was well acquainted with its hidden dangers, and anchored in safety abreast of Ranghoo, his place of residence. The name of Marsden was familiar in the mouths of the people, who, when he landed, crowded around him with every demonstration of affectionate regard. They watched with great interest the arrival of the boats with the cattle, but on seeing the cows and horses, they became perfectly bewildered with astonishment, their wonder increasing tenfold when Mr. Marsden, mounting a horse, rode it up and down the beach. They had, it is true, heard of this animal and of the use made of it, from several of their travelled countrymen; but they had derided these statements as idle tales, for, having tried the experiment of bestriding pigs, and found them quite unmanageable, they maintained that larger animals would necessarily be yet more impracticable steeds.

Duaterra, aided by some of his people, diligently set to work to enclose a piece of land for a stock-yard; suspending, however, this useful labour for a while, he performed one of a more noble nature, to the execution of which he was prompted solely by his desire to further the objects of the mission. With some planks and an old canoe, he managed to fit up a place for the temporary celebration of divine worship, forming a kind of reading desk (covered over with the black cloth manufactured in the country,) for the minister, and arranging in front of it long planks supported like forms, for the congregation. Here, on Christmas-day (1814), which was

also the sabbath, the beautiful service of the Church of England was performed for the first time in this heathen land, the sailors showing, by their orderly and serious deportment, that they were not unaffected by the peculiar solemnity of the occasion, while the natives, of whom large numbers were present, sat, knelt, or stood, according to the example of the Europeans, and listened in silence to the discourse addressed to them by Mr. Marsden, through the medium of Duaterra. After this auspicious commencement, all went on smoothly.

A piece of land in the district of Hoshee, of about 200 acres, was bought from Ahode Gunna, and his brother Warree, for twelve axes; and by a deed of assignment, signed, sealed, delivered, and dated 24th of February, 1815, made over to the Church Missionary Society for ever.* Timber was purchased and brought to the required spot by the natives, dwellings erected, land cleared, and seed sown. Mr. Marsden remained in New Zealand until the end of March, 1815, and then, having seen the mission peacefully established, he returned to New South Wales. A few days before his departure, Duaterra was seized with an attack of fever and dysentery, and expired when he was on the eve of sailing; the other chiefs, however, promised that his death should cause no alteration in their conduct, and E'ongi, the most powerful of them all, promised to take the missionaries and their defenceless families under his especial protection. Ruthless and ferocious as he afterwards proved, the chief kept his word through life, and even in death, for in his last moments, he besought his followers to allow the Church missionaries to remain in peace, because "they had ever acted for the best;" thus paying a noble tribute to their conduct during fourteen years of trial and vicissitude.†

* A copy of the deed is given in Vol. ii., p. 195, of Nicholas' *New Zealand*, published in London in 1817.

† E'ongi possessed, in a remarkable degree, the characteristics which have distinguished many so-called heroes, viz.—an insatiable thirst for power, quick perceptions, untiring energy, indomitable courage, and a total disregard for the sanctity of human life. His figure was slight, his countenance handsome, though much tattooed, and his demeanour, in time of peace, peculiarly quiet and inoffensive. The chief amusements of his early life are said to have been carving on wood, in which art he had attained considerable proficiency, and playing with little children. His ambition, afterwards his leading passion, appears to have been first manifested

on his return from England, which country he visited in 1819–20, and while there, was honoured with an audience of George IV., who presented him with a coat of mail and various warlike presents. The chief returned home with abundance of muskets and ammunition, and as he could command the services of several thousand warriors, he resolved to attempt to subdue all the other chiefs, and make himself king of New Zealand. On his arrival, he at once commenced a ruthless and exterminating warfare, giving no quarter, and pursuing all who opposed his design with demoniacal fury. On one occasion, having slain a chief named Hinaké, he drank the blood as it gushed from the decollated head; in the same contest, owing to the immense advantage possessed by him and his followers, in their

George, on the contrary, under whose protection the Wesleyan missionaries were placed, behaved towards them with his customary faithlessness, and on his death-bed, expressed a desire that all the missionaries should be extirpated, as he feared that the introduction of Europeans would eventually lead to the destruction of his countrymen, or that they would be reduced to the miserable condition of the Australian aborigines, whom he had seen lying intoxicated in the streets of Sydney, and begging their food from door to door—suppliants for the necessaries of life from those who had possessed themselves of their country and its resources. To return:—the Church missionaries were no sooner located in the Bay of Islands, than several merchants of Sydney memorialized Governor Macquarie for permission to establish a factory in New Zealand, and to form themselves into a commercial company, with an *exclusive* right of trade. The governor considered the request for a monopoly unreasonable, but referred the decision of the memorial to the home government, stating, however, that he saw no objection to sanctioning the establishment of a factory in New Zealand, *with the permission of the native chiefs*. Nothing further was done in the matter; but several of the Sydney mercantile firms, from time to time, formed agencies at the Bay of Islands, and at different parts of the coast where whale oil, flax, timber, pork, and potatoes were procurable in exchange for fire-arms, blankets, axes, and other articles. Meanwhile the New Zealanders were cruelly ill-used by the crews of many of the European vessels who visited their shores; and it is stated in the records of the Church Missionary Society, that within the first two or three years of the establishment of their settlement in New Zealand, not less than a hundred of them had been murdered by the Europeans; the natives, on their part, too frequently (as in the case of Marion) retaliating by punishing the innocent who

supplies of arms and ammunition, two thousand of the enemy are supposed to have been destroyed, and a large number of prisoners taken and carried away as slaves to the Bay of Islands. The tribes resident on the river Thames, at Wangaroa, North Cape, and Waiappa or the East Cape, were swept off by thousands. In his expeditions, E'ongi was constantly accompanied by his blind wife, Turi, on whose counsels he placed much value, a circumstance which renders the atrocious ferocity that distinguished them the more remarkable. Polack (whose testimony in this respect is supported by other authorities), speaking of one of E'ongi's

came within their reach, for the crimes committed by the guilty, who had escaped with impunity.

In 1822, the Wesleyan mission was established, in accordance with the suggestions of the Rev. W. Leigh, who, while acting as a missionary of that society in New South Wales, was induced to visit New Zealand by the representations of the Rev. S. Marsden. The London committee adopted the views of Mr. Leigh, who, in conformity with their instructions, accompanied by his wife, and two fellow-labourers with their families from England, proceeded to Wangaroa, thirty-five miles from the Bay of Islands. At first they were well received, but subsequently had to undergo much trial and privation, notwithstanding which, they were enabled to maintain their ground, and even make progress in forming schools, &c., until, in 1827, E'ongi, having made war upon the tribes among whom they were residing, plundered the little settlement of *Wesley Dale*, making however, an exception to his ruthless policy of extermination, by suffering its inhabitants to escape with their lives to the Church Mission, which remained unmolested under his powerful protection. Thence the Wesleyans proceeded to Sydney, where I became acquainted with them, and heard, from their own lips, of their past struggles, and the threats used to deter them from returning, but in vain. The earnest entreaties of their friends were equally insufficient to prevail with these servants of the Lord; for they knew that "*no man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is worthy of the kingdom of heaven*;" and in little more than a year they re-established themselves in New Zealand, accompanied by their faithful help-mates, who, sharing their zeal for the propagation of the gospel, were equally willing to lay down their lives, and those of their children, for its sake. The Master whom they served guarded them in the heathen land, whither they went as his messengers. Their

campaigns, says, "the ovens were crowded with human victims, and the places around presented dreadful scenes of carnage. All parts of the human body mangled, were strewn about in every direction—the sucking infant, the aged mother, the young female, and the venerable parent—all lay in undistinguished masses; and clotted gore in deep puddles bedabbled the adjacent paths." Such slaughter was tending to the rapid depopulation of the North Island, when the career of this man-slayer was stopped by a gun-shot wound in the lungs, through which the air whistled for fifteen months previous to his death.

brethren of the Church Mission were similarly defended; and though, many a night, when the savages among whom they dwelt, maddened by their refusal to procure for them fire-arms or gunpowder, departed from their humble dwellings, telling the trembling women that the stones were then heating to roast their flesh, and that of their little ones, yet these threats were in no instance fulfilled, and not a hair of their heads was harmed.

This time the Wesleyans took up their abode on the Hokianga river, on the western coast, and, by the blessing of God, were enabled to extend their operations southward, as far as Port Nicholson, in Cook's Strait; the church missionaries meanwhile exerting their endeavours in behalf of the inhabitants of the eastern portion of the island. The two Christian bodies worked harmoniously, in a spirit of love and charity, upholding each other, and making common cause against the various difficulties of their trying position. Of these, the most hard to endure was the constant counteraction of their efforts for the conversion and civilization of the Maories, by the demoralizing effect of their intercourse with the crews of the English, American, and French whalers which frequented the coasts, especially the Bay of Islands, and, together with some runaway sailors and convicts from Sydney and Van Diemen's Island, and other individuals from the same places, who, with a few exceptions, came to New Zealand, bankrupt in fortune or in character, and too frequently in both, made up a society whose lawless and dissolute members, abjuring the common decencies of life, and encouraging each other in every vice and every excess most degrading to human nature, obtained from the natives the appellation of *the devil's missionaries*.*

* Jameson, when alluding to the share in the civilization of the New Zealanders which the influence of even this commencement of commercial intercourse might be supposed to have had, thus expresses his opinion on the subject:—"From all that I have seen or heard respecting the fixed traders in New Zealand, or the casual visitors for the purpose of trade, it may be affirmed, in the most positive terms, that *not one of them has ever attempted to teach a native to read or write, or to communicate to his mind one ray of Christian knowledge or of moral rectitude*. With a few honourable exceptions, they have been, in their intercourse with the natives, guided by one ruling impulse—the love of gain. Their predominant aim has been to obtain the greatest possible quantity of pigs, potatoes, flax, maize, labour, or land, in exchange for the smallest possible amount of tobacco, ammunition, and piece goods.

The ministers of religion had, ever since their arrival, strenuously laboured to prevent the destructive conflicts among the aborigines, then of daily occurrence. "More than once," says Mr. Jameson, "have they conveyed information to a tribe threatened with a secret and treacherous attack, and frequently have they acted as mediators between parties assembled for hostile purposes." The depraved wretches above described took a malicious pleasure in thwarting them in this, as in all other ways, by fostering the revengeful passions of the Maories, and, for a bribe, enabling them to commit most atrocious cruelties; although they well knew, that but for the presence and restraining influence of those very men whom they scoffed at, and whose efforts they wickedly and foolishly endeavoured to contravene, they would, again and again, have been put to death by one tribe or another, if not by a general rising of the whole, so general was the odium excited by their villainy.

Some of the instances placed on record by the Aborigines Committee in 1837, of the atrocities committed by European captains and seamen, are most horrible. Of these, the following may serve as an illustration:—In December, 1830, a Captain Stewart, commanding the brig *Elizabeth* (trader), on promise of ten tons of flax, took above 100 New Zealanders from Kapiti, or Entry Island, in Cook's Strait, to Takou, Banks' Peninsula, concealed in his vessel. He then enticed on board the chief of Takou, his brother, and two daughters, who came unsuspecting of any ambush. On entering the captain's cabin, the door was locked upon the unhappy chief, his hands were tied, a hook with a cord attached was stuck through the skin of his throat, under the side of his jaw,† and the line fastened

One art of civilization the natives have acquired from their commercial visitors—that of bargaining; and in this, their proficiency is such as to render them able to cope with the keenest of their customers. By dint of experience, they have learnt to judge accurately respecting the quality and value of every manufactured article in common use that can be submitted to their inspection. But it is to missionary labour only that we can justly attribute the abolition of infanticide, polygamy, and the atrocities of native warfare, which have disappeared before the dawn of Christianity."—*Travels in New Zealand*. By R. G. Jameson, Esq. (P. 266.)

† Mr. Montefiore stated, in his evidence before Parliament in 1838, that the chief was not confined in the manner above described, but that he was so cruelly ironed as to cause mortification in his legs.

to some part of the cabin; in which state of torture he was kept for two days, until the vessel arrived at Kapiti, where he was put to death, together with his wife and two sisters. One of the children, who clung to her father, and cried out, was dragged from him, and killed on the spot. All the men and women who accompanied the chief were massacred, as were also many more, who came off afterwards in several other canoes to barter with the English. A party of the sailors were then sent on shore with the Kapiti savages, to aid them in slaughtering all the men, women, and children they could find; and, as a crowning enormity, the "ship's coppers" are even stated to have been employed in cooking the remains of the victims for the cannibals, whose brutal ferocity was not yet satiated.

General Darling, the governor of New South Wales, on being made acquainted with the circumstances of this most disgraceful transaction, referred the case to the crown solicitor, with directions to bring the offenders to justice; but, through some unexplained legal difficulty, this was never effected. Stewart, was indeed held to bail; but the other parties implicated, and the sailors, who might have been witnesses, were suffered to leave the country; and, consequently, both he and his accomplices escaped any punishment from human laws; but not the retributive justice of Providence, for this monster was shortly after washed off the deck of his ship, while proceeding round Cape Horn.

The governor forwarded to the home authorities the depositions of two seamen of the brig, to the same effect as the account already given, and those of Messrs. Montefiore and Kennis, merchants of Sydney, who had embarked on board the *Elizabeth* on her return to Entry Island, and had there learned the circumstances of the case, had seen the captive chief sent on shore, and had been informed that he was sacrificed.*

Another master of a trading vessel gave to a chief a packet of corrosive sublimate, wherewith to destroy his enemies.

One more feature remains to be noticed, as fearfully illustrative of the recklessness not only of the property, but even of the very lives of the New Zealanders, which marked the conduct of too many unprincipled Europeans. The natives had then

a custom of drying the tattooed heads (see engraving on map of New Zealand) of their deceased countrymen, some of which having been taken to Sydney, were bought up as objects of curiosity. From thence arose a loathsome species of traffic, which was carried to an extent that seems scarcely credible. Mr. Yate says that he has known people give property to the chiefs, for the purpose of getting them to kill their slaves, that they might have some heads to take to New South Wales. The practice was at length prohibited, in consequence of a representation made by the Rev. S. Marsden to Governor Darling, of the iniquitous manner in which ten heads just brought to Sydney and offered for sale by a Captain Jack, had been acquired.

Viscount Goderich (now Earl of Ripon), at that time Secretary of State for the colonies, in a despatch to Sir R. Bourke, governor of New South Wales, 31st of January, 1832, thus expresses the feelings of his Majesty's government with regard to the infamous conduct of the master of the *Elizabeth*, and other atrocities which had taken place in New Zealand:—

"It is impossible to read, *without shame and indignation*, the details which these documents disclose. The unfortunate natives of New Zealand, unless some decisive measures of prevention be adopted, will, I fear, be shortly added to the number of those barbarous tribes who, in different parts of the globe, have fallen a sacrifice to their intercourse with civilized men, who bear and disgrace the name of Christians. When, for mercenary purposes, the natives of Europe minister to the passions by which these savages are inflamed against each other, and introduce them to the knowledge of depraved acts and licentious gratifications of the most debased inhabitants of our great cities, the inevitable consequence is a rapid decline of population, preceded by every variety of suffering. Considering what is the character of a large part of the population of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, what opportunities of settling themselves in New Zealand are afforded them by the extensive intercourse which has recently been established, adverting also to the conduct which has been pursued in those islands by the masters and crews of British vessels, and finding from the letter of the Rev. Mr. Williams, that the work of depopulation is already proceeding fast, I cannot contemplate the too probable results without the deepest anxiety. There can be no more sacred duty than that of using every possible method to rescue the natives of those extensive islands from the further evils which impend over them, and to deliver our own country from the disgrace and crime of having either occasioned or tolerated such enormities."

The missionaries, on their part, watched with anxiety the state of affairs, feeling that if some steps were not speedily taken,

* General Darling's despatch to Lord Goderich, 13th April, 1831.

a serious collision would, in all human probability, arise, and could scarcely terminate otherwise than in the extermination, or at least expulsion, of one party or the other.

Desirous of maintaining the chiefs and their tribes as an independent people, and fearing, consequently, that France or some foreign power might assume the sovereignty of the islands, they beheld with deep regret the intestine warfare which was thinning the ranks of the aborigines, and rendering them less and less able to resist external aggression. As the best means of meeting these difficulties, they induced the leading chiefs to unite in seeking the protection of the King of England. Accordingly, in November, 1831, thirteen head chiefs of Paroa, Hokianga, Waimate, Kororarika, and other places, assembled at Keri-Keri, and signed an address, which they transmitted through Mr. Yate, secretary to the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand, to King William, "the gracious chief of England," of which the following is a literal translation:—

"KING WILLIAM,—We, the chiefs of New Zealand, assembled at this place, called the Keri-keri, write to thee, for we hear that thou art the great chief of the other side of the water, since the many ships which come to our land are from thee.

"We are a people without possessions. We have nothing but timber, flax, pork, and potatoes; we sell these things, however, to your people, and then we see the property of Europeans. It is only thy land which is liberal towards us. From thee, also, come the missionaries, who teach us to believe on Jehovah God, and on Jesus Christ, his Son.

"We have heard that the tribe of Marion* is at hand, coming to take away our land, therefore we pray thee to become our friend and the guardian of these islands, lest the teasing of other tribes come near to us, and lest strangers should come and take away our land.

"And if any of thy people should be troublesome or vicious towards us, (for some persons are living here who have run away from ships), we pray thee to be angry with them, that they may be obedient, lest the anger of the people of this land fall upon them.

"This letter is from us, from the chiefs of the natives of New Zealand."

Representations were forwarded, at the same time, from the Governor of New South Wales, suggesting the appointment of a person in the character of British resident at New Zealand, for the two-fold object of repressing acts of fraud and aggression practised by British subjects against the natives, and by acquiring a

* *La Furorite*, a French ship, anchored in the Bay of Islands about this period, and rumours were spread that the French government intended to take possession of the islands.

beneficial influence over the various chiefs, to protect the lives and properties of British subjects engaged in legitimate trade with the natives.

The result of these joint solicitations, was the compliance of the home government with the recommendation for the appointment of a Resident. Mr. J. Busby (a settler in New South Wales,) was selected for the position, and was accredited to the chiefs by being made the bearer of the royal answer to their address, dated the 14th of June, 1832. In it, Lord Goderich, in the name of King William IV., expressed his Majesty's sorrow for the injuries which the New Zealanders had sustained from some of his subjects, and his determination to do all in his power to prevent the recurrence of such outrages. His lordship likewise explained to them the protection to all classes which it was hoped would be afforded by the residence of Mr. Busby, and bespoke for that gentleman their zealous co-operation. This letter, and various presents from the king, were presented to the assembled chiefs by Mr. Busby, on his arrival in their country in May, 1833. The resident was placed on the civil-list of New South Wales, his salary of £500 a-year, and an annual allowance of £200 for disbursements to the natives, being provided from the resources of that colony; and instructions for his guidance were furnished by its governor.

From the whole tenor of these instructions, it is manifest how nearly nominal the authority entrusted to Mr. Busby must have been. General Bourke expressly reminds him, that *he cannot be clothed with any legal power or jurisdiction, by virtue of which he might be enabled to arrest British subjects offending against British or colonial law*; he adds, however, that as by the 9th Geo. IV., cap. 83, sec. 4, the Supreme Courts in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Island have power to enquire of, hear, and determine, all offences committed in New Zealand by the master and crew of any British ship or vessel, or by any British subject living there, and to punish the offenders,—the resident would be justified in taking cognizance of such offences, and if he thought "the case of sufficient magnitude and importance," might send a detailed report to New South Wales, by competent witnesses, upon whose evidence a bench-warrant having been obtained for the apprehension of the offender, would be

transmitted to him (Mr. Busby) for execution. The governor adds, "you will perceive, at once, that this process, which is at best, but a prolix and inconvenient operation, and may incur some considerable expense, will be totally useless, unless you should have some well-founded expectation of securing the offender upon or after the arrival of the warrant, and of being able to effect his conveyance here for trial, and that you have provided the necessary evidence to ensure his conviction."

Mr. Busby was further desired to "use his discretion" in causing the apprehension and removal of such escaped convicts as might be within his reach, or were guilty of any offence against the peace and tranquillity of the country; but as these same offenders were supposed to be from 100 to 200 in number, the resident used his discretion by letting them alone. He was instructed, likewise, to endeavour to mediate officially between rival chiefs or hostile tribes; to counsel the establishment of some system of jurisprudence; to furnish occasional returns concerning the agriculture, commerce, and general statistics of the islands, together with full and frequent shipping reports. Lastly, he was desired to evince cordial co-operation with the missionaries in the great objects of their solicitude, the extension of Christian knowledge throughout the islands, and the consequent improvement in the habits and morals of the people.* Had the Resident acted more cordially in the spirit of this last injunction, he might, as an accredited representative of the British government, have exercised over a large number of the natives, and over some at least of the more respectable settlers, a considerable amount of moral influence; as it was, he appears to have been regarded by all parties as a "man-of-war without guns," and openly set at defiance by the dissolute class whose excesses he was expressly sent to restrain.

Shortly after his arrival, Mr. Busby applied to Governor Bourke to authorize the adoption of a national flag by the New Zealanders, and to advise that ships built in the island, and registered by the chiefs, should have their registers respected in their intercourse with British possessions. Sir R.

Bourke, in compliance with this request, sent three pattern-flags for the chiefs to choose from. The one selected by them was hoisted, inaugurated, and saluted with twenty-one guns by the *Alligator*, a British ship of war then at anchor in the Bay of Islands. An account of these proceedings, dated April, 1834, was transmitted by the governor of New South Wales to the home authorities: Lord Aberdeen, in reply, (dated Dec. 1834,) approved of them in the name of the king, and stated that the Admiralty had instructed their officers to give effect to the New Zealand Registers, and to acknowledge and respect the national flag of that country.

In this year a distressing affair took place, the leading circumstances of which it may be necessary to mention. At the end of April, 1834, the *Harriet* (whaler), J. Guard, master, was wrecked at Cape Egmont, but the whole crew succeeded in effecting a landing in the boats. The natives plundered the wreck (as the Cornish men would probably have done on our own coast not very many years ago), but offered no violence to the passengers for ten days, during which interval two of the seamen deserted to a native pah or stockaded village. A fray then commenced, in which twelve of the sailors, and between twenty and thirty of the New Zealanders were killed. Mrs. Guard, and her two children, were taken prisoners, her husband and the rest of his party retreated, but prudently surrendered themselves to another tribe whom they met, who finally allowed the captain to depart, on his promising to return and bring a ransom of gunpowder for the nine seamen retained as hostages: three of the chiefs accompanied him to Sydney.

Guard, who is stated to have been formerly a convict,† a man of violent character, and some of whose previous dealings with the natives between 1823 and 1831, would appear to have been in keeping with his avowed opinion, that "a musket-ball for every New Zealander was the best mode of civilizing the country;‡ expressed no dread for the safety of his wife and family, nor of the men left in bondage to the Mataroa tribe, and was quite confident that a pound of tobacco and a blanket or two

* Instructions from Governor Sir R. Bourke to Mr. Busby, dated Sydney, 13th April, 1833, House of Commons' Papers, presented by her Majesty's commands, in pursuance of address of 8th April, 1840. Pages 4 and 5.

† Vide Dissent of C. D. Riddell, Esq., Colonial Treasurer, to proposed expedition.—Parliamentary Papers, 385, p. 5.

‡ See Report of Aborigines Committee in 1837, p. 20.

would be considered as a sufficient ransom for each of them: something more, perhaps, would be required for his wife and children.

Notwithstanding this, the authorities of New South Wales deemed it advisable, without any communication with Mr. Busby, or the missionaries, whose influence might here have been most usefully employed, to send the *Alligator* frigate and the schooner *Isabella*, with a company of the 50th regiment, to recover Mrs. Guard and the other captives. According to the general account of this expedition given in the Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand in 1835 (No. 585), and the report of the Aborigines Parliamentary Commission in 1836-7, more especially from the evidence of Mr. Marshall, the assistant-surgeon of the *Alligator*, who was sent on shore with the troops and seamen; it would appear to have been marked on the part of the English by wanton cruelty and even treachery. Mrs. Guard and one child were restored unhurt on the 30th of September, and on the 8th of October, the other was brought on the shoulders of a chief, who, by its mother's testimony, had protected and adopted it; yet on hesitating to deliver up the boy without the promised ransom, the child was forcibly taken from him, and the Chief was killed upon the spot. Finally, after every prisoner had been delivered up, uninjured, two of the native villages were burned to the ground. The parliamentary committee express their regret at this painful, and I must add, exceedingly discreditable transaction, and justly declare, that "the impression left with that tribe of savages must have been one of extreme dread of our power, accompanied with one of deep indignation."

In communicating to his Majesty's government intelligence of this melancholy affair, Sir R. Bourke, governor of New South Wales, and the Executive Council of the colony, represented the urgent necessity of having a ship of war *permanently* stationed in the southern seas for the protection of

British and colonial commerce, and the repression of the numerous outrages so frequently committed both by Europeans and natives. Unless this were done, and an act of Parliament passed, empowering the British Resident in New Zealand, to apprehend and commit for trial in New South Wales, his Majesty's subjects offending against British law, the governor deemed it would be more creditable at once to withdraw the Resident, and announce to the English residing in New Zealand, that they were altogether without the pale of British protection.

We now arrive at a point in the history of New Zealand, frequently discussed and variously viewed, namely, the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE by the native chiefs.

The immediate cause of this measure appears to have been, the alarm with which Mr. Busby was inspired, on receiving from an individual styling himself "Charles, Baron de Thierry,* Sovereign Chief of New Zealand, and King of Nuhahiva," (one of the Marquesas Islands,) a formal declaration of his intention to establish in his own person an independent sovereignty in New Zealand, in virtue of an invitation given to him in England by E'Ongi and other chiefs, and also on the grounds of an alleged purchase for him, in 1822, by Mr. Kendall, of three districts on the Hokianga river; the baron stated that he had declared his intentions to the Kings of Great Britain and France, and to the President of the United States, and that he was then waiting at Otaheite the arrival of an armed ship from Panama, to enable him to proceed to the Bay of Islands.

On receipt of this grandiloquent effusion, the effect of which was doubtless aided by the fear of some hidden design on the part of the French government, Mr. Busby issued an official address to his countrymen in New Zealand, (dated Bay of Islands, 10th October, 1835,) wherein he informed them of the purport of the Baron's communication; and, after adverting to the elaborate

* De Thierry was the son of a French emigrant nobleman: he was educated at Cambridge university, whither Mr. Kendall, one of the early Church missionaries, went in 1820, accompanied by E'Ongi, and another chief, to obtain the assistance of Professor Lee in compiling a vocabulary of the New Zealand language. Here they met De Thierry, who, it would appear (for the statements concerning this transaction, which I have been able to obtain, are very vague), commissioned Mr. Kendall to purchase for him a tract of land in New Zealand. On his return, Mr. Kendall is stated to have forwarded to De Thierry a (so-called) title-deed of certain dis-

tricts, situate near the Hokianga river, "for and in consideration of thirty-six axes." Mr. Kendall's conduct in this affair seems inexplicable, unless he were actuated by interested motives. According to Dr. Lang, the land claimed by De Thierry was bought *of*, and not *through*, Mr. Kendall, to whom it had been presented by the natives, on condition of his taking up his abode with them. This he did not do; for he left the Church Mission, and settled in New South Wales, where he died, being drowned in a small coasting vessel, when bound, with a load of cedar, from his farm at Kiama (on the east coast to the southward) to Sydney.

exposition of the views of the said Baron, addressed to the Church missionaries, to each of whom he offered a salary, on consideration of their acting as magistrates, and to the ample promises to all persons, whether Europeans or natives, who should consent to live under his government (of which the outline or programme was very cleverly drawn up); Mr. Busby stated his intention of taking "immediate steps for calling together the native chiefs, in order to inform them of this proposed attempt on their independence, and to advise them of what is due to themselves and to their country, and of the protection which British subjects are entitled to at their hands;" the Resident added, that he had "no doubt that such a manifestation would be exhibited of the characteristic spirit, courage, and independence of the New Zealanders, as would stop, at the outset, such an attempt upon their liberties, by demonstrating its utter hopelessness."

A week after the issue of the above address, by Mr. Busby, the following DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE was adopted and subscribed by thirty-five chiefs residing in the northern portion of New Zealand, and witnessed by Mr. H. Williams and Mr. George Clarke, missionaries, and by Messrs. Clendon and Mair, merchants:—

"1. We, the hereditary chiefs and heads of the tribes of the northern parts of New Zealand, being assembled at Waitangi, in the Bay of Islands, on this 28th day of October, 1835, declare the independence of our country, which is hereby constituted and declared to be an independent state, under the designation of '*The United Tribes of New Zealand*.'"

"2. All sovereign power and authority within the territories of the united tribes of New Zealand, is hereby declared to reside entirely and exclusively in the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes in their collective capacity; who also declare that they will not allow any legislative authority separate from themselves in their collective capacity to exist, nor any function of government to be exercised within the said territories, unless by persons appointed by them, and acting under the authority of laws regularly enacted by them, in congress assembled.

"3. The hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes agree to meet in congress at Waitangi in the autumn of each year, for the purpose of framing laws for the dispensation of justice, the preservation of peace and good order, and the regulation of trade; and they cordially invite the southern tribes to lay aside their private animosities, and to consult the safety and welfare of our common country, by joining the confederation of the united tribes.

"4. They also agree to send a copy of this declaration to his Majesty the King of England, to thank

* Sir George Gipps (the successor of Sir Richard Bourke), in a despatch dated August, 1840, speaks of this declaration as entirely a measure of Mr. Busby's

him for his acknowledgment of their flag; and in return for the friendship and protection they have shown, and are prepared to show, to such of his subjects as have settled in their country, or resorted to its shores for the purposes of trade, they entreat that he will continue to be the parent of their infant state, and that he will become its protector from all attempts upon its independence.

"Agreed to unanimously, on this 28th day of October, 1835, in the presence of his Britannic Majesty's Resident."

Mr. Busby* transmitted to England a copy of the above declaration. Lord Glenelg, in his despatch to Sir Richard Bourke, May, 1836, acknowledges the receipt of this communication, but expresses no opinion upon it; merely stating, in guarded terms, that—

"With reference to the desire which the chiefs have expressed on this occasion to maintain a good understanding with his Majesty's subjects, it will be proper, that they should be assured, in his Majesty's name, that he will not fail to avail himself of every opportunity of shewing his good-will, and of affording to those chiefs" (*i.e.*, the chiefs who had signed the declaration) "such support and protection as may be consistent with a due regard to the rights of others, and the interests of his Majesty's subjects."

It may be as well to state here, that the dreaded Baron de Thierry, who seems to have been rather a crotchety enthusiast than a knavish schemer, did not arrive in New Zealand until 1837, having touched at Sydney, on his way thither, and induced a number of mechanics and labourers to accompany him to his estate at Hokianga. The chiefs laughed at his "sovereign rights and powers," and disavowed his territorial claims on various grounds, although they admitted (with regard to the latter), that some transaction had taken place; but they maintained that no chief could dispose of land belonging to his tribe, without the consent of every member, each individual having as it were a vested interest in it. (Ignorance or wilful disregard of this fundamental law of property among the New Zealanders, lies at the root of the perplexing and almost hopelessly involved land claims.) At length a limited grant was made to De Thierry, by Nene (one of the chiefs of whom the extensive purchase above referred to was stated to have been made) and his tribe; and there the Baron eventually settled down, with no other retainers than his immediate family; the sixty persons who had accompanied him from Sydney having returned thither, or

concoction, and designates it "a silly as well as an unauthorized act; a paper pellet fired off at the Baron de Thierry."

sought employment elsewhere, on finding the utter fallacy of the expectations which he had led them to entertain. Of these, some were supported solely by the charity of the missionaries.

The extent of the native population of the Northern Island, about this period, is thus stated in a letter from the Rev. W. Williams to the Church Missionary Society, dated February, 1834:—

"I believe the population of this island does not exceed 106,000, of which about 4,000 are in connexion with our station at Kailaia, to the northward, 6,000 with the Wesleyan station at Hokianga, and 12,000 connected with our four stations in the Bay of Islands. The number in the Thames is about 4,800; while those at Waikato, a district in the same parallel with the Thames, and on the western coast, are about 18,000. Along the coast of the Bay of Plenty, as far as Hick's Bay, are about 15,600. From Hick's Bay to Hawke's Bay the number is about 27,000, concentrating in two principal places. There are now no other inhabitants in the southern part of the island, except in the neighbourhood of Entry Island, where the number is about 18,000."

In a letter written the 4th of September, 1835, Mr. Williams says, "the population of the two islands is small, not exceeding 200,000."

To return to the Declaration of Independence. If the intercourse of the New Zealanders could have been restricted to the ministers, catechists, and respectable settlers, they might, by the *conjoined counsels* of a British Resident and the missionaries, have been gradually induced to form an effective confederation among themselves; and that important point once gained, there is little doubt that this fine and intelligent race would have acquired, in no long time, the art of self-government.

But any such restriction was manifestly impossible; and even had it been practicable, the unfortunate differences which existed between Mr. Busby and the missionaries, especially as regarded the sale of ardent spirits, of which the natives were fully aware, would have greatly detracted from the beneficial influence which a different person might, in his position, have exercised.

In the following year (1836), no fewer than ninety-three British, fifty-four American, and three French vessels visited the Bay of Islands; and the desultory colonization at various spots along the coast

likewise increased; until, "about the commencement of 1838, a body of not less than 2,000 British subjects had become permanent inhabitants of New Zealand."* The evils of continued anarchy became more aggravated; and a petition to the crown for protection was drawn up and signed by thirty-six missionaries and catechists, and the most respectable settlers, in which it was stated—

"That it had been considered that the confederate tribes of New Zealand were competent to enact laws for the proper government of this land, whereby protection would be afforded in all cases of necessity, but experience evidently shews that in the infant state of the country, this cannot be accomplished or expected; it is acknowledged by the chiefs themselves to be impracticable."

In 1836-7, an inquiry materially affecting the interests of the New Zealanders, in common with various other aboriginal races, was entered upon by the Imperial Parliament. The attention of the British public having been directed to the subject by the philanthropic efforts of the Christian missionary societies, and of an excellent association formed expressly for the protection of aborigines, a select committee was "appointed to consider what measures ought to be adopted with regard to the native inhabitants of countries where British settlements are made, and to the neighbouring tribes, in order to secure to them the due observance of justice, and the protection of their rights." After hearing numerous witnesses, and recording much valuable but very distressing information, (some of which has been already quoted from this valuable report—see p. 126), the committee thus recapitulate the evils which have resulted from the intercourse between civilized and barbarous nations:—

"That Europeans coming in contact with native inhabitants of our settlements, tend (with the exception of cases in which missions are established) to deteriorate the morals of the natives; to introduce European vices; to spread among them new and dangerous diseases; to accustom them to the use of ardent spirits; to the use of European arms and instruments of destruction; to the seduction of native females; to the decrease of the native population; and to prevent the spread of civilization, education, commerce, and christianity; and that the effect of European intercourse has been, upon the whole, a calamity on the heathen and savage nations."

The committee proceed to state, that these penal settlements, or seamen who had deserted their ships; and these people, unrestrained by any law, and amenable to no tribunals, were alternately the authors and the victims of every species of crime and outrage."

* Vide Lord Normanby's despatch to Captain Hobson, August, 1839. His lordship adds—"Amongst them were many persons of bad and doubtful character—convicts who had fled from our

allegations have been clearly proved by the evidence received, and add—

"We have also seen the effects of conciliatory conduct, and of christian instruction. One of the two systems we must have to preserve our own security, and the peace of our colonial borders; either an overwhelming military force, with all its attendant expenses, or a line of temperate conduct, and of justice towards our neighbours."

Several valuable suggestions are likewise offered in the report, of which those most applicable to New Zealand are, that—

"It should be made known to all governors of her Majesty's colonies, that they are forbidden by her Majesty to acquire in her name any accession of territory, either in sovereignty or in property, without the previous sanction of an act of Parliament;" and likewise, "that in cases where it may be impracticable to prevent the acquisition of lands," (not forming a part of the Queen's dominions), "by British subjects; it should be distinctly understood, that all persons who embark in such undertakings, must do so at their peril, and have no claim on her Majesty for support in vindicating the titles which they may so acquire, or for protecting them against any injury to which they may be exposed in the prosecution of any such undertakings."

The conclusion of the report I quote, as embodying not only the opinions of the committee (among whom were Sir J. F. Buxton, Sir George Grey, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Pease, Mr. Hindley, and other men distinguished for their exertions in the cause of their fellow-creatures of every clime and colour), but also, as I believe, expressing likewise the feelings of her Majesty's government, and of the intelligent and really Christian portion of the British public in all quarters of the globe:—

"The oppression of the natives of barbarous countries is an evil of comparatively recent origin, imperceptible and unallowed in its growth: it *never has had even the colour of sanction from the legislature of this country; no vested rights are associated with it, and we have not the poor excuse that it contributes to any interest of the state.* On the contrary, in point of economy, of security, of commerce, of reputation, it is a short-sighted and disastrous policy. As far as it has prevailed, it has been a burthen on the empire. It has thrown impediments in the way of successful colonization; it has engendered wars, in which great expenses were necessarily incurred, and no reputation could be won; and it has banished from our confines, or exterminated, the natives who might have been profitable workmen, good customers, and good neighbours. These unhappy results *have not flowed from any determination on the part of the government of this country to deal hardly with those who are in a less advanced state of society; but they seem to have arisen from ignorance, from the difficulty which distance interposes in checking the cupidity and punishing the crimes of that adventurous class of Europeans who lead the way in penetrating the territory of uncivilized man, and from the system of dealing with the rights of the natives.* Many reasons unite for apprehending that the evils

which we have described will increase if the duty of coming to a solemn determination as to the policy we shall adopt towards ruder nations be now neglected; the chief of these reasons is, the national necessity of finding some outlet for the superabundant population of Great Britain and Ireland. It is to be feared that, in the pursuit of this benevolent and laudable object, the rights of those who have not the means of advocating their interests, or exciting sympathy for their sufferings, may be disregarded.

"This, then, appears to be the moment for the nation to declare, that with all its desire to give encouragement to emigration, and to find a soil to which our surplus population may retreat, it will *tolerate no scheme which implies violence or fraud in taking possession of such a territory; that it will no longer subject itself to the guilt of conniving at oppression, and that it will take upon itself the task of defending those who are too weak and too ignorant to defend themselves.*

"Your committee have hitherto relied chiefly on arguments, showing that no national interest, even in its narrowest sense, is subserved by encroachments on the territory, or disregard of the rights of the aboriginal inhabitants of barbarous countries; but they feel it their duty to add, that there is a class of motives of a higher order which conduce to the same conclusion.

"The British empire has been signally blessed by providence; and her eminence, her strength, her wealth, her prosperity, her intellectual, her moral, and her religious advantages, are so many reasons for peculiar obedience to the laws of Him who guides the destinies of nations. These were given for some higher purpose than commercial prosperity and military renown. 'It is not to be doubted that this country has been invested with wealth and power, with arts and knowledge, with the sway of distant lands, and the mastery of the restless waters, for some great and important purpose in the government of the world. Can we suppose otherwise than that it is our office to carry civilization and humanity, peace and good government, and, above all, the knowledge of the true God, to the uttermost ends of the earth?' He who has made Great Britain what she is, will inquire at our hands how we have employed the influence He has lent to us, in our dealings with the untutored and defenceless savage; whether it has been engaged in seizing their lands, warring upon their people, and transplanting unknown disease and deeper degradation through the remote regions of the earth; or whether we have, as far as we have been able, informed their ignorance, and invited and afforded them the opportunity of becoming partakers of that civilization, that innocent commerce, that knowledge and that faith with which it has pleased a gracious providence to bless our own country."

Meanwhile, in spite of all discouragements, missionary labour prospered in New Zealand. In 1837, the Rev. Mr. Marsden,† then considerably advanced in years, paid his last visit to the people whose best interests he had laboured so long and so zealously to promote. Writing to the

* The Rev. Mr. Whewell's Sermon before the Trinity Board.

† Mr. Marsden died in 1848, having been forty four years chaplain of New South Wales.

Church Missionary Society, he says—"Since my arrival, I have visited many of the stations within the compass of 100 miles, and have observed a wonderful change has taken place within the last seven years. The portions of the sacred Scriptures which have been printed have had a most astonishing effect. Great numbers have been baptized, both chiefs and people. I consider the missionaries, as a body, very pious, prudent, and laborious men, and that they and their children are walking in the admonition of the Lord." Mr. Marsden bears forcible testimony to the want of any authority or rules for their direction felt by the natives, and offers in illustration of it a letter addressed to him by a powerful chief, the successor of E'Ongi, of which the following is a literal translation:—

"Sir,—Will you give us a law? This is the purport of my address to you. If we say, let the cultivations be fenced, and a man through laziness does not fence, should pigs get into his plantation, is it right for him to kill them? Do you give us a law in this matter. Again,—should pigs get into fenced land, is it right to kill, or rather to tie them till the damage they have done is paid for? Will you give us a law in this? Again,—should the husband of a woman die, and she afterwards wishes to be married to another, should the natives of unchanged heart bring a fight against us, would it be right for us to stand up to resist them on account of their wrongful interference? Will you give us a law in this also? Again,—in our wickedness, one man has two wives, but after he has listened to Christ, he puts away one of them, and gives her to another man to wife. Now should a fight be brought against us, and are we, in this case, to stand up to fight? Give us a law in this. Again,—should two men strive one with the other? Give me a law in this. My (ritenga) law is to collect all the people together, and judge them for their unlawful fighting, and also for wrongfully killing pigs. Therefore I say, that the man who kills pigs, for trespassing on his plantation, having neglected to fence, had rather pay for the pigs so killed. Will you give us a law in this? Fenced cultivations when trespassed on, should be paid for. These only are the things which cause us to err;—women, pigs, and fighting one with another. But here is another,—should a man who is in the church come in a fight against us? Give us a law in this. Another thing, which we are afraid of, and which also degrades us, is this, slaves exalting themselves above their masters. Will you give us a law in this also?"

About this time, an evil which threatened not only to deprive the Maories of their independence as a nation, but to reduce them to speedy and abject poverty, attained an alarming magnitude. The "land fever," in its different phases of "sharking," "jobbing," and *bona fide* speculation, literally raged in New Zealand. What gold was to the Spaniards in Mexico, land at this period became to the English

in these islands—and, as the warlike aborigines most coveted the acquisition of fire-arms, they divested themselves of their only possessions, in order to obtain those deadly instruments which, together with ardent spirits, were the most potent means for the destruction of their race. Almost every captain of a ship, on arriving at Sydney, exhibited a piece of paper with a tattooed native head rudely drawn on it, which he described as the title-deed of an estate, bought for a few muskets, hatchets, or blankets; and as the government had fixed a price of 5*s.*, and afterwards 12*s.*, per acre on land in Australia, adventurers crowded to New Zealand, hoping there, under cover of the Declaration of Independence, to pursue their schemes with impunity. The extent to which the land mania prevailed, may be best understood by the fact, that when to the claims of various associations and private individuals, came to be added the enormous ones of the New Zealand Company, the total area of the islands, including rocks, mountains, and swamps, would have been quite insufficient to satisfy them. A Mr. Webster declared himself to have purchased forty miles of frontage on the west side of the river Piako; a Mr. Painham claimed nearly the whole of the north coast of the Northern Island; Mr. Wentworth, of New South Wales, asserted his right to 20,100,000 acres in the Middle Island; Catlin and Co., 7,000,000; Weller and Co., 3,557,000; Jones and Co., 1,930,000; Peacock and Co., 1,450,000; Green and Co., 1,377,000; Guard and Co., 1,200,000; and New Zealand Company, 20,000,000.*

Jamieson, in his instructive work (p. 174), says:—"One company, consisting of four gentlemen, claimed the Middle Island, in consideration of giving the chiefs a few hundred pounds in money and merchandise, and a life annuity of £100 per annum. Another individual, representing a commercial firm in Sydney, laid claim to several hundred thousand acres, including the township of Auckland, for which he gave one keg of gunpowder."

Five parties declared they had each purchased Kapiti, or Entry Island, in Cook's Strait, some for £100, some for goods to the value of £30; all produced the signatures of the chiefs, Rauperaha and Rangihæta. Porirua district was claimed by eight separate parties, who each declared

* See speech of Hon. Capt. Rous, M.P. in the Debate on New Zealand, 1845.

they had bought the place from Rauperaha and others. Cooper, Holt, and Rhodes, of New South Wales, asserted that they paid merchandize to the value of £150, in 1839, for a tract of country between the Otaki and Waikanahi rivers, running in an easterly line forty miles from the mouth of the latter river, thirty miles in another direction, ten miles along the coast, and so on. Mr. John Hughes, of Sydney, claimed, in part, all the lands of Porirua for a distance of thirty miles, bounded by a range of snowy mountains.

In this unseemly scramble for land, the Resident and the missionaries are accused of having participated. Mr. Busby certainly appears to have become a purchaser to the extent of 48,150 acres, claiming, according to Dr. Dieffenbach, the neck of land which separates Waitangi from the Keri-Keri, in the neighbourhood of the Waimate Mission. In his peculiar position, this was unquestionably an injudicious proceeding, although, according to the evidence adduced by his brother, Mr. A. Busby, before the Select Committee of the Lords, in 1840, his "extensive purchases" were made after "hearing of his removal from office." With reference to the missionaries, as individuals, the accusation can refer only to the members of the Church Mission, as the Wesleyans (with one exception*) have never effected purchases, being prohibited from doing so by the fundamental rules of their society, which differ from those of the Church Mission, in this point, especially; that whereas the members of the former body are at liberty to apply for leave to return, with their families, to their native country, after a limited period of service in a foreign land; those of the latter are, on the contrary, expected to take up their permanent abode among the people to whom they are destined to minister; and as parents, they consider themselves simply performing their duty to their children, by making prospective arrangements for their establishment in life.

In a recent work, entitled *The New Zealand Question*, by L. A. Chamerovzow, some pertinent remarks are made on this subject, p. 266:—

"Much censure, very undeserved in our opinion, has been cast upon the Church missionaries in consequence of their acquisition of land, but it is estab-

* Mr. White, who was dismissed from the society in 1836, made large purchases and settled in New Zealand.

lished that at least they paid for what they contracted for, and at a tolerably equivalent rate. For instance, their chief purchases consisted of land partially exhausted by native culture, and, in the opinion of the natives themselves, 'worn out;' now the parliamentary evidence proves that for this, they paid at the rate of 3s. 4d. per acre. But, after all, the whole extent of claim made on behalf of the Church Mission families, save two exceptional cases resting on peculiar grounds, originally amounted to only 53,000 acres; the children of these families (twelve in number) are 120, being an average of 446 acres per each child, which the land commissioners have reduced to 243, having awarded 29,209 acres in all. Let it now be taken into consideration that the missionaries bought the land when the prospect of colonization was, to say the least of it, very remote; that they could make no other provision for their families in that savage land, and that this provision was a poor set-off against their deprivation of the advantages of civilized society. It does then appear too harsh to censure these worthy men as land-jobbers, and unjust to decide their claims by the ordinary rule; for, even admitting that they had acquired a title to their full claim, namely, at the rate of 446 acres per each child, their claim, founded upon fair purchase, would fall far short of the allowance made by government to the chaplains of the colony of New South Wales, who receive, as a free gift, for each of their children, at the average rate of 1,600 acres."

The exceptional cases above referred to are, I presume, those of Mr. Fairburn and the Rev. R. Taylor. Mr. Fairburn claimed 40,000 acres, and in a letter to the Church Missionary Society, dated November, 1838, thus explains the circumstances which led him to become a purchaser to so large an extent.

"In January, 1836, Mr. Williams arrived at the Puriri, with a few of the Ngapuhi chiefs from the Bay of Islands, to endeavour to effect the establishment of peace between the Waikato and the Thames; which object having been accomplished, and the boundaries of the land settled between the two parties, the Thames natives immediately made application to sell at once their portion of land joining on to that of the Waikato; declaring that peace could not exist for any length of time unless they did so, as there would be perpetual infringements on each other's territories. About a week afterwards the natives came in a body, and almost insisted that the land should be purchased."

On acquiring the tract in question, Mr. Fairburn made over by deed one-third to the aborigines. Subsequently he assigned another third to the Church Missionary Society, for the benefit of the mission, and kept the remaining third for his own use. The society considered the extent retained by him disproportionate to the reasonable requirements of himself and his family, and he consequently retired from their service. By the Court of Land Claims he was eventually allowed 3,695 acres.

Mr. Taylor's claim extended to 50,000 acres. The quantity allowed to him by

the Commissioners was 2,726. The following explanations relative to this purchase were addressed by him to the Church Missionary Society's Committee, August 8th, 1843:—

"In a former letter I sent an account of the land I have purchased at the North Cape. As the Society has again written on the subject, I shall mention the same again, lest the former should not be received; but as for particulars I scarcely know how to give them, except that I purchased of Noble and his tribe a tract of land from which they had expelled the Aupouri, a northern tribe, nearly twenty years before. My object was to have given that tribe power to return to their former homes, which I could not have done without purchasing that land. This is stated in my deed of purchase, and a large portion of that tribe, amounting to nearly 100, has already taken up its abode there. Relative to the land which I shall claim for myself, I shall be satisfied with retaining sufficient to cover my outlay; but I have not selected any yet. I have only once seen it, and perhaps may never see it again. It is not a fertile district, a large portion being covered with moving sand-hills, and the whole is destitute of timber. I have given about £140 in cash; and although I thought my motive was a laudable one, yet after what has been said about missionaries and land, I regret I ever made it."

Another important point which should be kept in mind, with regard to the extent of land purchased by the Church Missionaries, for their families, is, that only a limited portion of it was available for agriculture. Archdeacon Williams says:—

"When a native wished to dispose of land, he required that the bad should be taken as well as the good, and hence it has generally happened, that while the number of acres may sound large, there is, in reality, but a small portion which is fit for agricultural purposes. Hence, therefore, if 200 acres of good land be no more than a sufficient quantity, much more than 1,000 is generally required to ensure the possession of 200. I know of some thousands which have been purchased, which will not average 100 acres of available land in each thousand."

But if the aspersions cast upon the conduct of individual missionaries, with regard to the acquisition of land, have been, as I truly believe, with few—very few exceptions—ensorious and unjust; they were yet more unwarrantable, when applied either to the Church or Wesleyan Mission, as a body. The one sole cause of offence ever given by these two influential societies was the unwavering and uncompromising opposition which they united in maintain-

* Their objections to colonization in general, but more especially to the plan proposed by the New Zealand Association (afterwards the New Zealand Company), are clearly and briefly stated in two pamphlets; the one entitled *The Principles, Objects, and Plan of the New Zealand Association Examined*, by Mr. Coates, the lay secretary of the Church Mission; the other, by the Rev. Mr. J. Beecham, secre-

ng to all projects for the colonization of New Zealand,* as subversive of the rights, and injurious to the interests, both temporal and spiritual, of the people, to whom they were attached by the strong tie which binds the protector to the protected. It is gratifying to perceive, that their conscientious motives were appreciated by his Majesty's government, and that, notwithstanding the opposite views entertained in various quarters, their opinions were listened to with respect, as coming from men "who had borne the burden and heat of the day," and whose disinterested exertions through a long series of years, had alone rendered New Zealand an attractive field for emigration. Notwithstanding the eminent service they had done to the cause of Christian civilization, the missionaries were scoffed at and vilified by the interested schemers whose object was to decry their labour and reap its fruits. The Church Missionary Society took an excellent mode of refuting these wanton calumnies, by requesting the Bishop of Australia to visit the missions in New Zealand, and examine personally the different stations, and the numbers and condition of the converts. Bishop Broughton accordingly proceeded thither towards the close of 1838; his high testimony, as also that of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, in 1837 (to which I have before referred), is given at length in the Parliamentary Papers of the 3rd of August, 1840, pp. 170-1-2. In addressing the London Committee of the Church Missionary Society, his Lordship says:—

"It is in my power, I think, effectually to contradict the assertions of the adversary and of the scoffer, who have sometimes gone the length of affirming that the attempt to christianize the people of this nation has been a failure—that nothing has been done." . . . "At every station which I personally visited, the converts were so numerous, as to bear a very visible and considerable proportion to the entire population."

The candidates for confirmation were carefully questioned,—

"The grey-haired man and the aged woman took their places to read and to be examined, among their descendants of the second and third generations; the chief and the slave stood side by side, with the same holy volume in their hands, and tary to the Wesleyan Mission. Both these gentlemen ably and consistently advocated the views entertained by the societies to which they respectively belonged, and maintained throughout much long and arduous discussion, a Christian tone of feeling and expression, which could not but gain the respect of all good men."

exerted their endeavours each to surpass the other in returning proper answers to the questions put to them, concerning what they had been reading."

These assemblages took place sometimes in the open air, but generally in a building set apart by the natives in each pah or native village; the Bishop says he encouraged them on all occasions, to probe the extent of the attainments and improvements of the converts. He adds, that the lay catechists, as well as the clergy, were "all animated by a good spirit, and a desire, according to their several abilities, to work the work of God."

To return to the land question, on the part of the Church Mission, 11,600 acres were claimed. This might at first sight seem excessive, were it not a well known fact that the society had no private interest whatever in holding land,* but simply desired to make proper provision for buildings, gardens, and agriculture, for the use of the missionaries, and for the maintenance of the natives connected with their various stations. Their expenditure in New Zealand in 1836 was no less than £13,000; the total cost from the commencement of their operations to the present time amounts to the sum of £273,000 on that mission only. In 1839-40 they had established chapels and schools at Tepona, Keri-Keri and Wangaroa, Paibia, Waimate, and Kaitaia, in the northern part of the island; and at Entry Island, Poverty Bay, Rotorua, Tauranga, Hauraki, and Manukan, in the southern portion. The number of schools at these several stations was eighty-three; the scholars were in all, 2,562. The congregations regularly attending Divine worship were 4,644, the communicants 284.

A farm was established at the *Waimate*, expressly for the encouragement of agriculture among the natives, for their exclusive benefit.

The extent to which spiritual instruction was carried on by European and native catechists at this period is shown in the diffusion of the Church of England Prayer-book and Hymns to the number of 33,000 copies, and in the demand from the London directors for an additional 10,000 copies of the New Zealand Testament, printed in the Maori language. At the Bay of Islands, Mr. Mair states that he could have readily

* By a resolution adopted by the Church Missionary Society, in 1841, the whole of their land in New Zealand was "appropriated to endow or aid the endowment of a parochial ministry, of a bishopric, if necessary, and of educational and

purchased a cargo of corn, if he had had a number of the small Prayer-books circulated by the mission. The land purchased for the Wesleyan Mission in the course of seventeen years, up to July, 1840, in various places where they had established missions, was altogether only 850 acres, and the price paid for the land averaged from *four to five* shillings per acre. At Mangungu, on the Hokianga (their oldest station), they paid £189 10s. for a waste and thickly wooded tract, then comparatively valueless. The land held and tilled by the society did not support the mission; the annual charge on the funds derived from charitable contributions in England was, in 1838, £3,617; in 1839, £3,885; and in 1840, about £4,000.

In 1839, they had stations at Mangungu, Waima, Newark, Orongatta, Kaipara, Heads of Kaipara, Kawia, Waingarua, Taranaki, and Kapiti. The communicants and scholars amounted to 1,763. Their expenditure on the New Zealand Mission, up to 1848, amounted to upwards of £80,000.

A Roman Catholic Mission was established in 1838, when Monseigneur Pompallier, the bishop arrived, with a priest and catechist; a circumstance deeply to be regretted, because it could not but tend to unsettle and distract the minds of the newly converted heathens, and was besides calculated to rouse a spirit of controversy on points not absolutely necessary to salvation, in the minds of the Church and Wesleyan missionaries.

Having thus endeavoured to afford the reader some idea of the spiritual condition of New Zealand at this important epoch of its history, I now return to its secular affairs.

In the month of May, 1837, Sir R. Bourke, governor of New South Wales, while awaiting the receipt of a promised parliamentary enactment relative to these islands, heard that a war had broken out between two tribes in the vicinity of the Bay of Islands, by which the safety of the British inhabitants, and of the shipping, was endangered. He thereupon sent Captain Hobson, then commanding H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*, as an experienced and judicious officer, for their protection, at the same time desiring him to report his opinions "on the present state of New Zealand, and collegiate establishments; and for other objects of permanent benefit to the natives."—See *Statement of the Church Missionary Society, in reference to the Land purchased by their Missionaries, 1845*

the means of procuring, with the least possible overt interference, the common interests of the natives and of the British settled amongst them.”*

This request was complied with by Captain Hobson in an able document, dated August, 1837, wherein, after adverting to the decrease of the natives, and the simultaneous increase of the British subjects, he speaks of the latter as every day acquiring considerable possessions of land; and adds,—

“Heretofore the great and powerful moral influence of the Missionaries has done much to check the natural turbulence of the native population; but the dissolute conduct of the lower orders of our countrymen not only tends to diminish that holy influence, but to provoke the resentment of the natives, which, if once excited, would produce the most disastrous consequences. It becomes, therefore, a solemn duty, both in justice to the better classes of our fellow-subjects, and to the natives themselves, to apply a remedy for the growing evil.”

Captain Hobson then suggests the establishment of factories with a surrounding tract of land, at Cloudy Bay, Hokiangā, and in other places, as the occupation of British subjects proceeds. The chief factor to be a magistrate, and a treaty to be concluded with the chiefs for the recognition of the factories, and the protection of the British subjects and their property. Mr. Busby had previously (on the 16th of June, 1837), addressed Sir R. Bourke on the same subject, and recommended that England should undertake the protection of New Zealand, and send troops there; proposing a somewhat similar plan to that adopted with regard to the Ionian Islands.

In the beginning of 1838, a select committee of the House of Lords was appointed to enquire into the state of the islands of New Zealand, and the expediency of regulating the settlement of British subjects therein; a variety of witnesses were examined at considerable length (their evidence extending over 352 pages); the report thereupon was solely that,—

“The extension of the colonial possessions of the crown is a question of public policy, which belongs to the decision of her Majesty’s government; but, that it appears to this committee, that support, in whatever way it may be deemed most expedient to afford it, of the exertions which have already *beneficially effected the rapid advancement of the religious and social condition of the aborigines of New Zealand, affords the best present hopes of their future progress in civilization.*”

While her Majesty’s government were

* Despatch from Governor Bourke to Lord Glenelg, September, 1837.—Parl. Papers, 7th Feb., 1838.

considering the measures to be adopted for the protection and government of British subjects in New Zealand, the necessity for so doing became more evident, as the European population continued to increase. Almost from the establishment of the mission stations, some respectable families had, from time to time, taken up their abode in various localities. At Kororarika, in the Bay of Islands, they had gradually augmented to several hundred of both sexes, and a regular town had been formed, containing a church and two or three hotels. There were seldom less than eight or ten large ships at anchor in its immediate vicinity; and land fronting the water, suitable for the erection of stores, was valued at £1,000 per acre. With the almost instinctive habits of self, or local government, so characteristic of the British race, an endeavour was made to introduce order in the place of anarchy, by establishing a rude system of justice.

In May, 1838, the inhabitants of the district of Kororarika held a public meeting, to determine “the best means for affording protection to, and regulating other matters connected with, the welfare of the residents, both Europeans and natives.” The result was the formation of a society, called the *Kororarika Association*, whose authority was to extend “from Matavai to Briud’s bay, in a straight line across the land of Oneroa, or the Long Sandy Beach, and all the land that is bounded by the coast from the beach to the bay.” The resolutions adopted were fifteen in number. The first may be taken as a fair specimen of the rest. They all partake strongly (and, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, almost unavoidably) of the spirit of “Lynch law.”

“Resolution I.—That in the event of any act of aggression being committed on the persons or property of the members of this society by the natives of New Zealand, or others, the individuals of this association shall consider themselves bound to assemble together (armed, if necessary, on being called upon to do so) at the dwelling of the person attacked; and if any member shall refuse, he shall be fined five pounds sterling. *But if the person attacked be in fault, he shall be fined one pound sterling.*”

The second, third, and fourth resolutions were framed to check desertion from ships, by enacting, that every member should,—

“Consider himself bound to aid any commander of a vessel who may apply for the recovery of runaway sailors, who may be at Kororarika, or in its vicinity, within the prescribed time (*i.e.* four clear days), and if any member shall refuse to give such aid, he shall pay a fine of five pounds sterling.”

The fifth and sixth referred to persons

stealing, or receiving stolen goods, knowing them to be such, and enacted, that the party accused of either offence should be obliged to appear before a committee of at least seven members of the association: in the event of their unanimously pronouncing him guilty, he was—

“To be forwarded to the British Resident, to be dealt with as he shall think fit; but if the Resident refuses to act, then the guilty person shall be punished according to the local laws, which necessity shall compel the association to frame.”

The tenth was enacted to enforce the payment of rents; a committee of at least five members to arbitrate in the event of any disputed point between landlord and tenant.

The thirteenth and fourteenth were as follows:—

“That every member of this association shall provide himself, as soon as possible, with a good musket and bayonet, a brace of pistols, a cutlass, and at least thirty rounds of ball-cartridge: and that the said arms and ammunition shall be inspected, at any time, by an officer appointed for that purpose.

“That to form a fund to defray the expenses of this association, each member shall pay, at the next general meeting, ten shillings, and two shillings per month afterwards.”

The punishment inflicted by this self-constituted tribunal (for Mr. Busby, as had been foreseen, declined any interference) was, the banishment of the offenders from the limits of its jurisdiction, with, in some instances, the addition of tarring and feathering. Resistance was hopeless, as the association could rely on the assistance of the natives. The culprit was stripped, covered with a thick and enduring coating of tar from head to foot, then sprinkled all over with feathers of different sizes; and, in this state, led several times backwards and forwards along the beach, to the tune of the *Rogue's March*, amidst the derisive cheers of the English, and the wild shouts of the aborigines. The wretched delinquent was then placed in a canoe, and ordered to leave the settlement of Kororarika for ever, with an assurance that his reappearance would subject him to a repetition of the same disgraceful punishment.

Six months after the formation of the “provisional government” of Kororarika, steps were taken by her Majesty’s ministers for “the establishment of some competent British authority within the islands of New Zealand.”

In December, 1838, Lord Glenelg, secretary of state for the colonies, suggested the

appointment of an officer invested with the character and powers of a British consul, and subsequently advised that certain portions of New Zealand should be added to New South Wales, as a dependency of that colony; and that the officer selected for the above-named purpose should likewise receive an appointment as lieutenant-governor of the dependent settlement thus contemplated. These propositions were assented to by the secretary of state for foreign affairs, and by the lords of the treasury, on the express condition that “the annexation of any part of New Zealand, or any assumption of authority beyond that attaching to a British consulate, should be strictly contingent upon the indispensable preliminary of the territorial cession having been obtained by *amicable negotiation with, and free concurrence of, the native chiefs.*”*

Accordingly, in June, 1839, letters patent were issued, authorizing the Governor of New South Wales “to include within the limits of that colony, any territory which is or may be acquired in sovereignty by her Majesty, her heirs and successors, within that group of islands commonly called New Zealand, lying between 34° 30’ and 47° 10’ S. lat.” In the following month, Captain Hobson received the appointment of British consul in New Zealand. The instructions† addressed to him by the Marquess of Normanby, who then presided over the colonial department, have an important bearing on questions which have since been, and still are, subjects of grave dispute, but they are too lengthy to be inserted in full; I can therefore only cite the most interesting passages. His lordship states that her Majesty’s government had not been unaware of the national advantage likely to be derived from the colonization of New Zealand; but had been restrained from engaging in such an enterprise by deference to the advice and concurrence in the opinions of the House of Commons’ committee of 1836; which opinions, he adds, her Majesty’s ministers still retained “in unimpaired force,” though compelled to alter their course by circumstances over which they had no control. After adverting to “the fact, that a very considerable body of her Majesty’s subjects have already established their residence and effected settlements there, and that many persons in this kingdom have formed themselves into a society, having for its object

* Parliamentary Papers of 8th April, 1840, p. 34.

† Ibid. pp. 37—42.

the acquisition of land, and the removal of emigrants to those islands," Lord Normanby (in a passage previously quoted, at p. 131) refers to the character and numbers of the British population, as necessitating the interposition of the government:—

"I have already stated, that we acknowledge New Zealand as a sovereign and independent state, so far at least as it is possible to make that acknowledgment in favour of a people composed of numerous, dispersed, and petty tribes, who possess few political relations to each other, and are incompetent to act, or even to deliberate, in concert. But the admission of their rights, though inevitably qualified by this consideration, is binding on the faith of the British crown. The Queen, in common with her Majesty's immediate predecessor, disclaims, for herself and for her subjects, every pretension to seize on the islands of New Zealand, or to govern them as a part of the dominion of Great Britain, unless the free and intelligent consent of the natives, expressed according to their established usages, shall be first obtained. Believing, however, that their own welfare would, under the circumstances I have mentioned, be best promoted by the surrender to her Majesty of a right now so precarious, and little more than nominal, and persuaded that the benefits of British protection, and of laws administered by British judges, would far more than compensate for the sacrifice by the natives, of a national independence, which they are no longer able to maintain, her Majesty's government have resolved to authorize you to treat with the aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of her Majesty's sovereign authority over the whole or any parts of those islands which they may be willing to place under her Majesty's dominion. It is not, however, to the mere recognition of the sovereign authority of the Queen that your endeavours are to be confined, or your negotiations directed. It is further necessary that the chiefs should be induced, if possible, to contract with you, as representing her Majesty, that henceforward no lands shall be ceded, either gratuitously or otherwise, except to the crown of Great Britain."

Captain Hobson was farther directed to announce, immediately on his arrival in New Zealand, "that her Majesty will not acknowledge as valid any title to land which is not either derived from or confirmed by, a grant to be made in her Majesty's name, and on her behalf."

With regard to the conduct to be maintained towards the aborigines, in dealing with them for their lands, Lord Normanby enjoins, not merely the observance of the principles of sincerity, justice, and good faith, but adds:—

"Nor is this all. They must not be permitted to enter into any contracts in which they might be the ignorant and unintentional authors of injuries to themselves. You will not, for example, purchase from them any territory, the retention of which by them would be essential, or highly conducive, to their own comfort, safety, or subsistence. The acquisition of land by the crown for the future settlement of British subjects, must be confined to such

districts as the natives can alienate, without distress or serious inconvenience to themselves. To secure the observance of this, will be one of the first duties of their official protector."

In this document it is expressly stated that Captain Hobson had been selected as especially qualified for the position in which he was about to be placed, from the firm reliance reposed in his uprightness and plain dealing.

Further explanation having been requested by Captain Hobson concerning some portion of his "Instructions," Lord Normanby, in a letter dated August 15, 1839, thus expresses himself on the chief point in question:—

"The remarks which I have made respecting the independence of the people of New Zealand, relate, as you correctly suppose, to the tribes inhabiting the Northern Island only. Our information respecting the Southern Island is too imperfect to allow me to address to you any definite instructions as to the course to be pursued there. If the country is really, as you suppose, uninhabited, except but by a very small number of persons in a savage state, incapable from their ignorance of entering intelligently into any treaties with the crown, I agree with you that the ceremonial of making such engagements with them would be a mere illusion and pretence which ought to be avoided. The circumstances noticed in my instructions, may perhaps render the occupation of the Southern Island a matter of necessity, or of duty to the natives. The only chance of an effective protection will probably be found in the establishment by treaty, if that be possible, or if not, then in the assertion, on the ground of discovery, of her Majesty's sovereign rights over the island. But in my inevitable ignorance of the real state of the case, I must refer the decision in the first instance to your own discretion, aided by the advice which you will receive from the governor of New South Wales."

In December, 1839, Captain Hobson reached Sydney, where speculations in New Zealand lands, were then openly carried on. An auction for the express purpose being advertised as about to be held some few days after his arrival, Sir George Gipps stopped the sale, by warning all persons intending to become purchasers that they would do so at their own risk. The oaths of office were administered by Sir George Gipps, as governor of New South Wales and its dependencies, to Captain Hobson, as lieutenant-governor "in and over any territory which is or may be acquired in sovereignty by her Majesty, her heirs or successors, within that group of islands in the Pacific Ocean commonly called New Zealand." Having received his commission, Captain Hobson sailed from Sydney, accompanied by a treasurer,* collector of customs,

* In a despatch, dated 20th February, 1840, Captain Hobson complains "of the great inconvenience

police magistrate, two clerks, a sergeant and four troopers of the mounted police of New South Wales; on arriving at the Bay of Islands, on the 29th January, 1840, he immediately issued an invitation to all British subjects to meet him on the following day, at the church of Kororarika, and circulated notices, printed in the Maori (native) language, that on the 5th of February he would hold a meeting of the chiefs of the confederation, and of the high chiefs who had not yet signed the Declaration of Independence, for the purpose of discussing a treaty to be proposed for their consideration. The settlers assembled accordingly; and forty of them, including Mr. Busby and a native chief, signed a document attesting that Captain Hobson had then and there read and published two commissions, namely, the one by which the limits of New South Wales were extended so as to comprehend New Zealand, and the other by which he was appointed lieutenant-governor over such parts of the islands as had been or should hereafter be, ceded in sovereignty to the British crown. The proclamations framed by Sir George Gipps were then read, announcing the assertion of her Majesty's authority in New Zealand, and the illegality of any title to land not confirmed by the crown; but declaring that no intention was entertained of dispossessing "the owners of any land acquired on equitable conditions, and not in extent or otherwise prejudicial to the present or prospective interests of the community."

On the 3rd of February, an address was presented to the Lieutenant-governor, signed by forty-five of the inhabitants of Kororarika, in which they declared that "the establishment of British law and British authority" had long been their first desire, assured him of the satisfaction they felt at his appointment, from their knowledge of his personal character, and pledged themselves to aid him with their "best exertions to establish order, law, and security for life and property in this improving and important colony."

On the 5th of February, having first held a levee at the house of Mr. Busby, which was attended by all the principal European inhabitants, Captain Hobson proceeded and responsibility" he had been subjected to by the want of a colonial secretary, or a legal adviser, stating, that no gentleman suited for offices of such trust could be found in New South Wales, who were not already in better circumstances than the limited means of a new colony could afford them.

about noon to the spacious tents erected for the occasion, supported by Captain Nias and the officers belonging to *H.M.S. Herald*; by Mr. Busby, the members of the Church Missionary Society, the French Roman catholic bishop, and the principal residents, and took his place on a raised platform, the native chiefs seating themselves on the ground in the centre of the area within the tents. The business of the meeting commenced by Captain Hobson's announcing the object of his mission, explaining to the chiefs the effect that might be hoped to result from the contemplated measure, and assuring them, in the most fervent manner, that they might rely implicitly on the good faith of her Majesty's government. He then read the treaty, dwelling on each article, and offering a few remarks explanatory of such passages as they might be supposed not to understand; Mr. H. Williams, of the Church Missionary Society, interpreting in the native tongue, sentence by sentence, all that was said.

The treaty, being not very lengthy, and frequently alluded to in discussions on the present state and future prospects of New Zealand, is given verbatim:—

"Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, regarding with her royal favour the native chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and anxious to protect their just rights and property, and to secure to them the enjoyment of peace and good order, has deemed it necessary, (in consequence of the great number of her Majesty's subjects who have already settled in New Zealand, and the rapid extension of emigration both from Europe and Australia, which is still in progress), to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorized to treat with the aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of her Majesty's sovereign authority over the whole or any part of these islands. Her Majesty, therefore, being desirous to establish a settled form of civil government, with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary laws and institutions, alike to the native population and to her subjects, has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorize me, William Hobson, a captain in her Majesty's royal navy, Consul and Lieutenant-governor over such parts of New Zealand as may be, or hereafter shall be, ceded to her Majesty, to invite the confederated and independent chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following articles and conditions:—

"First.—The chiefs of the confederation of the united tribes of New Zealand, and the separate and independent chiefs who have not become members of the confederation, cede to her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely, and without reservation, all the rights and powers of sovereignty which the said confederation of independent chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess, over their respective territories, as the sole sovereigns thereof.

"Second.—Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession. But the chiefs of the united tribes, and the individual chiefs, yield to her Majesty the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate, at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and persons appointed by her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

"Third.—In consideration thereof, her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the natives of New Zealand her royal protection, and imparts to them all the rights and privileges of British subjects.

(Signed) W. HOBSON."

When Captain Hobson had finished reading the treaty, the chiefs were invited to ask explanations on any point they did not comprehend, and to make any observations or remarks they pleased. Thereupon twenty or thirty addressed the meeting, and opposed the proposition with great violence; and at one period, says Captain Hobson,* "with such effect, and so cleverly, that I feared an unfavourable impression would be produced." "Send the man away," said a chief named Rewa-rewa, addressing his companions; "do not sign the paper; if you do, you will be reduced to the condition of slaves, and be obliged to break stones for the roads. Your land will be taken from you, and your dignity as chiefs will be destroyed."

At this critical juncture Nene and Patuoni arrived with the Hokianga chiefs. Nene, whom Sir George Grey, in a recent dispatch justly designates "our most faithful ally," came forward at the first pause, and "spoke with a degree of natural eloquence which surprised all the Europeans," and turned the tide of feeling among the natives. Addressing himself to his countrymen, he exhorted them to reflect on their own condition; to recollect how much the character of the New Zealanders had been exalted by their intercourse with Europeans; and how impossible it was to govern themselves without frequent wars and bloodshed; concluding by strenuously advising them to receive the British, and to place confidence in their promises. Then, turning to Captain Hobson, he said—"You must be our father! you must not allow us to become slaves! you must preserve our customs, and

* See despatch of Captain Hobson to Sir George Gipps, dated February 5th, 1840, in which a very graphic account is given of the whole transaction.

never permit our land to be wrested from us!" One or two other chiefs followed in the same strain, and the meeting was then adjourned until the day after the morrow, in order to afford them full time for reflection. At this important meeting no presents were given to them, no promises of individual favour made to bribe or bias their decision. Early the next morning it was intimated to Captain Hobson, that the chiefs being perfectly satisfied with his proposal, were desirous at once to sign the treaty, and return to their homes; he therefore assembled the officers of the government, and proceeded to the public tents, accompanied by Mr. Busby and the missionaries, and witnessed about forty-six head chiefs affix their signatures in due form, in the presence of at least five hundred of inferior degree.

"Now therefore, we, the chiefs of the confederation of the united tribes of New Zealand, being assembled in congress at Waitangi, and we, the separate and independent chiefs of New Zealand, claiming authority over the tribes and territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the provisions of the foregoing treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof.

"In witness whereof, we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and dates respectively specified.

"Done at Waitangi, this 6th day of February, in the year of our Lord, 1840."—(512 signatures.)

The acquiescence of the abovenamed chiefs (twenty-six of whom had signed the Declaration of Independence) was deemed to amount to a full and clear recognition of the sovereign rights of her Majesty over the northern portion of the island, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired on the occasion.

Captain Hobson forthwith proceeded to the Wesleyan Mission station at Hokianga, where he held a meeting of the chiefs, between four and five hundred of whom assembled, together with a number of natives, in all about three thousand. The proceedings were of precisely the same character as at Waitangi, the Rev. Mr. Hobbs, of the Wesleyan Mission, acting as interpreter: but greater opposition was made to the proposed measure on this than on the previous occasion, which Captain Hobson attributed to the influence of the Roman catholic party, and to some disreputable characters who had located themselves in this vicinity.

The lieutenant-governor nevertheless succeeded in inducing the whole of the head chiefs of the Hokianga to sign the treaty, with two exceptions, and even from

their tribes many inferior chiefs added their names. From the Hokianga, he proceeded to Waitemata, situated in the estuary now called the Frith of the Thames, where, after obtaining the adherence of the principal chiefs in the neighbourhood, he was attacked on the 1st of March, 1840, with paralysis, brought on by anxiety of mind and long exposure to wet. In order that the public service should not suffer by this event, Captain Hobson commissioned Captain Symonds, of the British army, and five members of the Church Missionary society, to procure the signatures of the chiefs of their respective districts to the treaty of Waitangi, these districts comprising the whole of the Northern Island, except Kaitaia, on its north-western extremity, whither he dispatched Mr. Shortland, acting colonial secretary, two gentlemen officially connected with the new government, and the Rev. Mr. Taylor, of the Church Missionary Society.

On the 16th of April, Major Bunbury arrived, with eighty men of the 80th regiment, and Captain Hobson, deeming it advisable to display the dignity and importance of government in a more ostensible manner than could be done by private individuals, dispatched the aforesaid officer in the *Herald* to visit the most important portions of Middle Island or Tawai Poenamou, Stewart's or Southern Island, and such parts of the Northern Island as were not already ceded to the crown, desiring him, if possible, to secure in each place the adhesion of the head chiefs, and especially that of Raupehaha. Before the Lieutenant-governor could receive accounts of more than the partial success of his emissaries, intelligence reached him from authentic sources of the formation into a separate government, of the settlers located at Port Nicholson, under the auspices of the New Zealand Company; their election of a council, and their appointment of Colonel Wakefield as its president. He was likewise informed that taxes had been raised, and most unjust as well as illegal exercise of magisterial authority had been practised.

The measures adopted by Captain Hobson in this emergency may be, for several reasons, best told in his own words:—

"Availing myself of the universal adherence of the native chiefs to the treaty of Waitangi, as testified by their signatures to the original document, in my presence, or to copies signed by me, in the hands of those gentlemen who were commissioned and authorized to treat with them, I yielded to the emergency of the case arising out of the events at Port

Nicholson; and, without waiting for Major Bunbury's report, proclaimed the sovereignty of her Majesty over the Northern Island. Actuated by similar motives, and a perfect knowledge of the uncivilized state of the natives, and supported by the advice of Sir George Gipps, previously given, I also proclaimed the authority of her Majesty over the southern islands on the ground of discovery."

Captain Hobson dispatched Mr. Shortland to publish the proclamation above referred to, together with another addressed to the settlers at Port Nicholson, desiring him immediately on his arrival—

"To displace all persons holding office under the authority of the usurped government, except such as may be engaged by them, merely for private purposes; and to restore to all persons the possession of property, of which they were in occupation when the emigrants arrived, and from which they had been forcibly ejected, by persons calling themselves magistrates."

Meanwhile, Major Bunbury and the other gentlemen appointed by Captain Hobson to carry out the remainder of his instructions (which bodily weakness prevented him from fulfilling in person), after obtaining the signatures of the chiefs of the Northern Island, proceeded to the Middle Island, where they procured the assent of a sufficient number of the head chiefs to warrant the assumption of the sovereignty by cession, and took possession of Stewart's or Southern Island by right of discovery.

Major Bunbury gives the following account of his own tour:—

"I visited the harbours of Coromandel, Mercury Bay, Touranga, Hawke's Bay, Port Nicholson, Robuka Island (Foveaux straits), the islands of Capiti and Mana, Otago and Southern Port (Stewart's Island). From all these places I obtained the necessary signatures, excepting in two places, where my mission had been anticipated by other gentlemen sent by Captain Hobson. At Southern Port (Stewart's Island), and at Cloudy Bay (Middle Island), Captain Nias and myself, judging it would be for the best interests of the natives, as well as European settlers, that further delay should not take place, we proclaimed the Queen's authority with the usual ceremonies, at the former place, on the 5th of June, where we did not meet with natives, by right of discovery; and at the latter on the 17th of June, from the sovereignty having been ceded by the principal native chiefs."

It may here be asked how far the natives really understood the meaning of the treaty of Waitangi, and what their idea was of the right of sovereignty thus conceded, since in the native language there was no such word. The definition given by Nopera, one of the Kaitaia chiefs, when arguing with his countrymen on the subject, offers, perhaps, the most correct answer to both these questions. "The shadow of the

land," he said, "goes to Queen Victoria; but the substance remains with us. We will go to the governor and get a payment for our land, as before." The principal chiefs of the Middle Island were like those of the Northern, most pertinacious in their inquiries as to whether the document which they were requested to confirm, would give any right to the Crown to deprive them of their lands; some were even averse to receiving presents after signing it, lest they should give encouragement to any such pretension. For my own part, I feel no doubt, that the belief of the native chiefs was, that in signing the treaty, they sanctioned the assumption on the part of England, of *magisterial jurisdiction only*, and had no idea of its involving the surrender of any *territorial rights* whatsoever.

To return to the proceedings of what we may now term the local government, which was at first fixed at a place called Russell, three miles from Kororarika, in the Bay of Islands; but about November, 1840, removed to a new site, termed Auckland, situated on an isthmus of land about four miles broad, which unites the northern and southern portions of the Upper Island, and forms, as it were, the connecting link between the opposite coasts, having on the east side the Bay of Waitemata, one of the best harbours in New Zealand; and on the west, the Bay of Manukao, which has likewise a good harbour. Whether considered in reference to these singular advantages, or to its extensive inland water communication,—to the considerable proportion of arable land and fine timber in the adjoining districts, or viewed with regard to its being in the vicinity of the European population who had so long needed the control of some legally organized authority, and likewise of the largest number and most christianized portion of the natives; the selection of this position for the capital was unquestionably a judicious one, and was considered as such by her Majesty's government, who confirmed the choice of Captain Hobson.

A charter for "erecting the colony of New Zealand, and for creating and establishing a Legislative and an Executive Council, and for granting certain powers and authority to the governor for the time being of the said colony," was signed by the Queen on the 16th of November, 1840. This charter or letters patent defined the colony of New Zealand to consist of the

group of islands lying between $34^{\circ} 30'$ and $47^{\circ} 10'$ S. lat., and $166^{\circ} 5'$ and 179° E. long. ;* and declared that the three principal islands heretofore known as the Northern, Middle, and Stewart's, should henceforth be designated and known respectively as *New Ulster*, *New Munster*, and *New Leinster*. The Legislative Council was to consist of not less than six persons, nominated by the crown, and holding office during its pleasure, with power to make laws and ordinances for the colony, conformable to instructions from the Queen in Council; the Executive Council to be composed of three of the principal members of the government, to assist and advise the governor, who was to be nominated by the crown.

In this charter we find a clause empowering the governor to grant "waste lands," either to private persons or to corporate bodies; but the following paragraph states:—

"Provided always, that nothing in these our letters patent contained, shall affect or be construed to affect the rights of any aboriginal natives of the said colony of New Zealand, to the actual occupation or enjoyment in their own persons, or in the persons of their descendants, of any lands in the said colony now actually occupied or enjoyed by such natives."

Captain Hobson was appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the new colony, and instructions were issued under the royal sign manual, dated the 5th of December, 1840, prescribing his powers and duties, and those of the Legislative and Executive Councils; a survey was to be made, and the colony, as soon as practicable, divided into *counties*, and as nearly as may be into *hundreds* of 100 miles square, and *parishes* of twenty-five miles square. The "waste and uncleared lands belonging to and vested in the crown," were hereafter to be sold at one uniform price. Finally, the governor was enjoined to use every effort "to promote religion and education among the native inhabitants;" "to protect them in their persons," and "in the free enjoyment of their possessions; by all lawful means to prevent and restrain all violence and injustice, which may in any manner be practised or attempted against them, and to take such measures as may appear necessary for their conversion to the Christian faith, and for their advancement in civilization."

In the instructions from Lord John

* These boundaries were subsequently altered as will be shown in Topography chapter.

Russell to Governor Hobson, dated 9th of December, 1840, his lordship, referring to the aborigines, said :—

" They are not mere wanderers over an extended surface in search of a precarious existence, nor tribes of hunters or of herdsmen; but a people among whom the arts of government have made some progress—*who have established by their own customs a division and appropriation of the soil*—who are not without some measure of agricultural skill, and a certain subordination of ranks, with usages having the character and authority of law. In addition to this, they have been formerly recognised by Great Britain as an independent state; and, even in assuming the dominion of the country, this principle was acknowledged, for it is on the deliberate act and cession of the chiefs, on behalf of the people at large, that our title rests."

A civil list was drawn up, fixing the salary of the governor, at £1,200; that of the chief justice, £1,000; colonial secretary, £600;* treasurer, £600; surveyor-general, £600; collector of customs, £500; attorney-general, £400; protector of aborigines, £400. Total, 5,300. The expenses of the above establishment were estimated at £6,000; public buildings and works, £5,000; contingencies at £3,000. Total, £19,300. To meet these charges, it was expected that £10,000 would be raised from duties levied in New Zealand, from 4,000 Europeans; £5,000 to be raised within the colony from land sales there, and £5,000 to be voted by Parliament. The two chief sources of revenue expected were duties on imports, viz., spirits, tobacco, tea, coffee, and sugar, and assessments on uncultivated lands in the hands of private individuals.

I have now traced the leading events in the history of New Zealand, for a period of nearly two centuries, namely, from its discovery by Tasman in 1642 to its formation into a British colony in 1840. Before proceeding further it may be necessary to state that very different opinions are entertained concerning the measures which led to, and terminated in the treaty of Waitangi; some parties considering them to have been injudicious and uncalled for, because New Zealand, before the conclusion of that treaty, was already a British dependency. This view of the case is supported on the following grounds, viz., that Captain Cook,

* The salary of the colonial secretary, of the colonial treasurer, and of the surveyor-general, was to be increased £10 per annum till it reached £800; that of the attorney-general was to be increased £10 per annum, till it reached £500.

† In 1787, the King of England, in a royal commission, declared New South Wales, on the east

the first European who set foot on its shores (which it will be remembered Tasman never did), took possession of both islands in 1769, with the customary formalities; that, consequently, when the colony of New South Wales was formed, New Zealand was included within the jurisdiction of Captain Phillip, its earliest governor;† that in 1814 and in 1819, Governor Macquarie claimed and exercised authority there by appointing magistrates; that in 1832, a British Resident was stationed at the Bay of Islands; and that, in December, 1837, a man named Edward Doyle underwent the extreme sentence of the law at Sydney, New South Wales, for a burglary committed at the Bay of Islands, on the 18th of June, 1836; the sentence being executed under the authority of an act of the Imperial Parliament. (9 George IV.) The recognition by the British government of the registers of vessels belonging to New Zealand, and of a distinctive flag, is asserted to be no more than had been previously done in the case of British possessions, and with regard to the Declaration of Independence in 1835, the remark of Sir George Gipps, is cited, that it was simply "a paper pellet, fired off by Mr. Busby at the Baron de Thierry."

On the other hand, it is contested that the rights of the Crown in New Zealand (at least as far as the two principal islands are concerned), rest solely on the treaty of Waitangi.

The chief arguments used to enforce this opinion will be found succinctly stated in a memorandum transmitted by Lord John Russell to Viscount Palmerston, bearing date 18th of March, 1840. It is there stated "that the British statute book has in three distinct enactments, declared that New Zealand is not a part of the British dominions; and secondly, that King William IV. made the most public, solemn, and authentic declaration which it was possible to make, that New Zealand was a substantive and independent state," by accrediting Mr. Busby to the chiefs, in a letter addressed to them as heads of an independent people, and still more by formally and practically acknowledging their national coast of Australia, "extending from Cape York, lat. 11° 37', to the South Cape, lat. 43° 30', and inland to the westward as far as 135° long., comprehending all the islands adjacent in the Pacific Ocean within the latitude of the above-named capes," as part of the British dominions, in virtue of the sovereignty established by Captain Cook.

flag, and giving effect to the registers of their vessels. With regard to the right acquired by the proceedings of Captain Cook, it has been urged, not only that it was, at the utmost, "a right inchoative, good as against third parties, but not as against the native owners of the soil," but that even if England had thereby become possessed of any kind or degree of dominion over these islands, such assumption had been wholly annulled and abrogated by the subsequent unqualified admissions of the national independence of New Zealand. Having briefly enumerated the points most strongly insisted upon, on either side of the question, most of which have been more fully dwelt on in the previous pages, I leave the reader to form his own conclusion.

NEW ZEALAND COMPANY.—Before entering upon the administration of Governor Hobson, it is necessary to give some account of a company, whose proceedings during the last ten years have materially affected the interests of that colony, and have exercised an important influence over the minds of what may be termed the "colonizing" portion of the British population.

I approach the subject with reluctance, for it involves the investigation and analysis of perplexing and contradictory statements, and necessitates inquiry into the transactions of a corporate body, which, during its whole existence, has been more or less at variance, both with the imperial and local government.

In order to give some idea of the manner in which the "New Zealand question," as it is called, has been overwhelmed with voluminous masses of documents, I may enumerate a portion of the materials which I deemed it necessary to examine, before attempting an exposition of the leading facts connected with it. Irrespective of the numerous debates in both Houses of Parliament, *one** of which contains 287 closely printed 8vo pages, there are the parliamentary reports and papers, printed by order of the Houses of Lords and Commons, or presented by royal command, occupying 4,548 large folio pages. The twenty-five reports of the "Directors of the New Zealand Company," and the documents appended thereto, extend over 2,882 octavo pages; the eight ponderous

volumes of the *New Zealand Journal* (the weekly organ of the directors of the company), contain 2,768 pages. But this is far from being the whole that has been printed and published on this subject. There are now before me four-and-twenty different works on New Zealand, several of them in two volumes, some attacking, others vindicating the conduct of the Company; besides, the journals of the Bishop of New Zealand, the reports of the Church and Wesleyan Missions, and of the Aborigines Protection Society, not to mention innumerable pamphlets, and papers put forth at various times in magazines and periodicals. Altogether, I consider the mass of printed matter exclusively relating to New Zealand, which has come under my notice within the last few months, would about equal twenty thousand printed 8vo pages; a very large proportion of this has a direct bearing on the affairs of the Company.

Notwithstanding these voluminous statements, there does not any where appear, a clear, impartial, and connected view of the proceedings of the individuals, who, at different times, endeavoured to form associations, the common object of which, under different pretences, was the acquisition of lands in New Zealand at a very low rate, and their resale in England at a very high one.

The first attempt of the kind which I have been able to trace, was made by an unchartered association, formed in 1825, for whom, in 1826-7, a Captain Herd purchased some land at Herd's Point,* in the Hokianga river, and two islands at the entrance of the Waitemata river. The tract at Herd's Point, or Okara, remaining unoccupied, the natives requested Mr. W. White, a Wesleyan missionary, when proceeding to England in 1836, to find out the parties by whom it was claimed, and request them either to come and take possession of it, or receive back the value of the consideration that had been given for it; adding, that in the event of neither proposal being complied with, they intended to resume the land.

In another place, when endeavouring to trace some portion of the large amount of capital which has been at different times and by various means acquired and dissi-

* Debate in the House of Commons on 17th, 18th, and 19th June, in the case of New Zealand and the New Zealand Company; printed by John Murray, 1845.

* This tract was constantly represented by the Association as of considerable extent; it eventually proved to comprise about *one square mile*.—See App. to Rep. from Parl. Com. on New Zealand in 1844, p. 636.

pated by the New Zealand Company, I shall have occasion to notice the sums of money said to have been expended in extinguishing associated or individual pretensions. For the present it is sufficient to state that Mr. Dillon Bell, acting secretary to the New Zealand Company, writing to Lord John Russell, in April, 1841, states expressly that (excepting the territory on both sides of Cook's Straits, which Colonel Wakefield is alleged to have purchased in 1839,) the extent of their possessions amount only to a "tract on the Hokianga river, claimed in virtue of a contract with Lieutenant McDonnell, and two islands at the mouth of the Thames, claimed in virtue of a contract with the New Zealand Company of 1825. These islands and the tract at Hokianga are wholly unfit for the seat of a considerable colony."

On the 22nd of May, 1837, the first meeting of an "Association for the colonization of New Zealand," was held in the Adelphi, London, Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield in the chair,* and the views entertained by its projectors were soon after made public, in a full-sized duodecimo volume.† The main object of the Association was to obtain from the Crown the power of acquiring, in its own right, and for its own purposes, the cession of the sovereignty from the aborigines, and of purchasing their lands and re-selling them in England at "a sufficient price," by lottery, as had been previously done (with considerable pecuniary advantage to the projectors and early speculators) in South Australia. (See Div. iv. p. 639.) Having obtained this delegated authority, the step next contemplated was to borrow capital, with which to make the first purchases of land, then to buy another tract with part of the proceeds of the first resale, and to continue repeating the "operation over and over again," until—but here it may be best to let the propounders of the project themselves describe the con-

templated result of such a course of proceeding—

"But this operation would probably be repeated over and over again, in the formation of new settlements and the extension of old ones. Suppose that, in progress of time, British New Zealand, or Victoria as it may be called, should be saddled, to use a common expression, with a debt of several millions—what then? Why, a time would surely come, and long before all the land of these islands had become private property, when it would be not only inexpedient, but mischievous to add to the colonial population by means of emigration from Britain; and, from that time forth, the whole of the sums received as the purchase-money of public lands, (deducting payment to natives, and a small portion for local improvements,) would be an available fund for paying off the colonial debt."—*Principles, Objects, and Plans of the New Zealand Association*, p. 61.

In the ensuing page of the work are some forcible remarks respecting "the great evil belonging to our present mode of colonizing New Zealand," viz., "the frauds practised by British settlers in their bargains with the natives for land," which were the cause of "disputes arising out of such real or pretended bargains." After referring to "adventurers laying claim to large tracts without a shadow of right," the association recommended that "from the time when a British authority was established in New Zealand, or seriously contemplated, it would be most expedient to put an end to all private bargains for land."‡

It will be readily conjectured, that the objects of the Association (avowed and latent) excited the serious alarm both of the Church and Wesleyan Missionary Societies. Mr. Dandeson Coates, in an able pamphlet, before referred to, exposed several of the fallacies contained in the volume from which I have just quoted, but especially denounced the pretence of disinterestedness under which the desire of "gain, the main-spring and ultimate end of the whole scheme," was hidden. Mr. Coates remarks, that "it is generally and confidently reported, that in the event of the government sanctioning the project of the

principles, the titles of British subjects to land, which they claimed to have purchased from the natives; that a special commission of persons not connected with the country, should be appointed for this important duty, adding, that after the existing claims were disposed of, it would be necessary to declare all purchases void, of which sufficient notice had not been given to the government, in order that the real proprietors of the land might be ascertained. "Humanity," says Mr. Busby, "would also require that certain districts should be fixed in perpetuity in the native proprietors, and that it should be enacted that all claims to the possession of such lands by foreigners, howsoever acquired, should be absolutely null and void."

* *New Zealand Journal*, No. 130, for 1841, p. 658.

† *The British Colonization of New Zealand, being an Account of the Principles, Objects, and Places of the New Zealand Association*, (422 pages), published for the Association, by J. W. Parker. Preface dated 20th October, 1837.

‡ The leading members of the association must have been well aware that these measures had long been urged upon her Majesty's ministers by the governor of New South Wales. Mr. Busby, in a despatch, dated 16th of June, 1837, recommended that simultaneously with the establishment of a British government in New Zealand, means should be resorted to for ascertaining and fixing, upon equitable

association, the chief administrative authority would be confided to Mr. E. G. Wakefield. If so," he adds, "why is it not told? Why are the public kept in ignorance of a point so deeply affecting the success of the undertaking?"*

Mr. Wakefield, in a published letter, dated 12th December, 1837, purporting to be written in vindication of the proposed Association, does not contradict the latter assertion, but carries the war into the enemy's camp, by attacking the Church Missionary Society in general, and Mr. Coates in particular; admitting, nevertheless, that "the missionaries have so far humanized the natives, as to render the country very attractive to such British settlers as have no object but gain;" he declares that "a portion of the plan of the Association, which Mr. Coates has disdained to mention, forms one of the greatest missionary projects ever suggested;" and concludes with a panegyric on "the deliberate, systematic, and much-approved plan of the New Zealand Association."

If, however, Mr. Wakefield felt aggrieved by the silence of the lay secretary of the Church Missionary Society, concerning a portion of the scheme which he so highly lauds, full amends were made for that omission, by the secretary of the Wesleyan Society, the Rev. John Beecham, who, in a pamphlet entitled *Colonization*, examines separately each proposition of, perhaps, one of the wildest and most impracticable theories ever promulgated by a public body, as exhibiting something like a sketch or outline of their actual plan of proceeding.

I subjoin Mr. Beecham's extracts from, and comments on, the chapter entitled, "Exceptional Laws in favour of the Natives of New Zealand," in which the means to be used for civilizing the natives are stated at considerable length. Let it not, however, be supposed, that the following able exposition of the absurdity and utter fallacy of the propositions contained therein, occasioned its abandonment: on the contrary, it remained a much-vaunted part of the scheme of the New Zealand Association of 1837, and became so of the New Zealand Company of 1839, though no attempt was ever made to carry it into execution:—

"The chapter," says Mr. Beecham, "commences

* I would here be understood only as quoting the sentiments of Mr. Coates; for I believe that many of the members of the Association were really actuated by sincere, but ill-directed philanthropy.

upon the principle, that the New Zealander is not capable of being converted at once into a British subject, and that he cannot, therefore, be placed immediately under British law. 'Since then,' it is remarked, 'the people are not adapted to our laws, the only course which remains for us is to adapt our laws to the people.'

"2. The recently-discovered method of transplanting a full-grown tree without injury from one soil to another, is used as a simile to represent the introduction of the New Zealanders, with their national peculiarities and usages, into the British colony; removing only those customs which are radically bad, and sedulously fostering whatever may be innocent and characteristic.

"3. *Chieftainship*, being one of the most obvious and striking peculiarities of the social system in New Zealand, it is said, is to be respected; and it is proposed that—

"'Every chief who disposes of his lands to the British crown, and consents to liberate his slaves, should have allotted to him, within the British settlement, such a tract of land, proportionate in the case of each several chief to the extent of territory which he has ceded, and the number of slaves to whom he has granted their liberty, as would place him in as favourable a position with regard to the possession of landed property, as the principal English settlers. This land should be kept in reserve for him, until by education and intercourse with civilized people he had learned to estimate its value.'

"Where the chief is to live, and what are to be the means of his support, until, by the proposed educational process, he shall be prepared to take possession of, and enjoy, his reserved estate, is not, however, to be learned from the book. This proposal appears so very liberal, that it is judged necessary to stop and defend it.

"'Nor should we,' [it is argued, 'be acting unjustly by ourselves in conferring so great a benefit upon the New Zealander. The benefit which he would confer upon us by ceding to us his territory would be immeasurably great, and beyond all comparison greater than the consideration which he would be likely to demand, or we should be willing to give for it. In order therefore, to be just in the sight of our own consciences, we must grant him some further benefit; and what benefit can we grant him more suitable for his circumstances, with more ease to ourselves, and more in accordance with our own principle of colonization, than a portion of that land' (that is, a portion of his own land) 'which has so greatly increased in value by the mere circumstance of our possessing it.'

"This will, no doubt, be regarded by the reflecting reader as one of the most remarkable instances of casuistry,—one of the most ingenious remedies for an unsettled and uneasy conscience, that has ever come under his observation.

"4. The services of the more respectable colonists are to be called into requisition in teaching the New Zealanders:—

"'It would therefore be incumbent upon the members of the best families among the English to lay themselves out, as one of the finest occupations in which they could engage, for the cultivation and improvement of the native mind, for training them up to civilized habits, courteous behaviour, decorous conduct, and generous sentiments.'

"5. 'Some of the picturesque and romantic insti-

tutions of the feudal age' are to be revived. 'The establishment of a principle of social alliances throughout the colony' is proposed; and it is intended that the principal English families shall adopt, as their friends and allies, the chief families of the territory where they may have established themselves. The advantages of this arrangement are thus argued:—

"Nor would such an institution be without its value for the English gentleman as well as the New Zealand chief. It would confer upon both an honourable distinction of a neutral character, and founded, as all honourable distinctions ought to be, in the high qualities of confidence, generosity, faithfulness, respect for social ties, and regard for the interests of posterity. The offices of the English leader towards his adopted friend would be,—to entertain him as his guest, to instruct him in the point of honour, to correct his savage notions with regard to the retaliation of injuries, to influence his pursuits, to teach him the value of property, and the obligations it entails on its possessor. The younger members of the families of the chiefs might be introduced into the families of their English protectors, to undergo that wholesome mixture of education, service, manly exercise, and moral discipline, which the sons of our English gentry were once accustomed to receive in the houses of the wealthier nobility. Their daughters would be the especial care of the English ladies, and would receive from them such instructions, and render them such services, as would best fit them for their place in society.'

"6. Next, *Heraldry* is to render its aid. The chapter proceeds:—

"It can scarcely be doubted, that these alliances would be more palpably and more gracefully cemented, were the English family to confer on the New Zealand family a *coat of arms*, somewhat similar to their own, but with such a modification as the rules of heraldry might prescribe, in order to keep up the difference between them. Heraldry, too, with its achievements and honorary distinctions, might be turned to good account in rewarding merit in the New Zealander; it would be a practice well-suited to impress his imagination, and might be made available for purposes which have grown obsolete in England.'

"7. Then *chivalry* is to contribute its part; and St. Palaye's ancient chivalry is to be a text-book —

"The institution of chivalry is acknowledged to have had a wonderful effect, in softening the manners and improving the character of our ancestors in the middle ages; and there are so many points of resemblance between the state of society at that period, and the actual condition of the New Zealanders, that we should not lightly reject the assistance we might derive from St. Palaye, in framing their social institutions.'

"8. In connexion with chivalry, 'the *kind of literature* which would be likely at once to suit their taste, and to elevate and improve their characters,' comes under consideration; and the question is decided in favour of 'the *old romances of chivalry and the heroic poets*.'

"Few things,' it is said, 'would be more interesting than to observe the effect which might be produced upon such natures, by reading to them, in their own language, some *stirring passage of Homer*, or some *affecting incident from the pages of Sir Thomas Malore*.'

"9. After this, the question of *criminal law* is

considered, on the principle that 'it would be palpably unjust to govern savages by the strict enforcement of a criminal law, framed for civilized communities.'

"The plan having thus been sketched out, a few paragraphs are added respecting the spirit in which this benevolent enterprise is to be prosecuted.

"Such,' it is concluded, 'are some of the provisions which might be made for preserving and improving the native race, and making it contribute to the future greatness of the whole community; but let us not forget the high and holy principle which must be the soul of every effort for the benefit of mankind.'

"Before, however, the consideration of 'the *soul*' of the system devised for elevating the New Zealanders is entered upon, the reader is requested to pause for a moment longer upon the *system itself*. Can any one seriously believe that this scheme describes a middle state, through which it will be practicable to raise the New Zealander from 'primitive barbarism' to 'high civilization?' If the subject were not of too grave a character—if it did not really and truly involve the destinies of a noble though barbarous aboriginal race, it might well provoke a smile to imagine the effect which the description of this plan would have upon the mind of the New Zealander himself, did he sufficiently understand it. Could he at all be made to comprehend this heterogeneous compound of his own national peculiarities and customs, ancient feudal institutions, and the regulations of modern civilized society—could anything approaching to an adequate idea of chivalry and St. Palaye, heraldry and a coat of arms, the old romances and heroic poets—Homer and Sir Thomas Maleore—be introduced into his mind; at the same time that he was given to understand that it was intended by these means to transform him into a gentleman, and enable him to take his place among the intelligent and polished subjects of the Virgin Queen, who was to honour his country by giving to it her own name—what would be his wonder and incredulity on being permitted to peep through such a vista to his destined future elevation and greatness!"

After advertising to the absence, on the part of the association, of any pledge for the support of even a single Christian teacher for the natives, Mr. Beecham remarks:—

"The fact is, that the principle on which the colony is to be founded will so operate, as to put it out of the power of the association to make an adequate provision for the religious instruction of the natives. They have a lure for every description of character whom they wish to conciliate and engage in their cause; and the recommendation of their plan, which they offer to the political economist, is, that it is a *self-supporting* colony which they propose to form. Be it so; but this clashes with the recommendation of it which they give to the Christian philanthropist. They cannot, then, have the means which will enable them to perform their promise to the latter. According to the financial part of their plan, which is pretty clearly developed, it appears that the profits arising from the re-sale of lands to the settlers are to form an emigration fund; and that the expense of commencing the colony, and providing for the erection of public buildings, the administration of government, defence of the colony, and such like matters, is to be met by borrowing

money on interest, until a colonial revenue shall be created. Seeing that this vast and expensive undertaking is thus to be commenced with borrowed money, is it at all likely that the association would venture to increase that great risk which they must necessarily run, by taking up, at a high rate of interest, those additional sums which would be required to meet the expense of providing a sufficient number of Christian teachers for the benefit of the natives? Believe it who may.

"What, then, is the conclusion to which the inquirer is at length conducted? Why, after all the high-wrought panegyrics which have been bestowed upon the new and vastly improved system of colonization which the New Zealand Association have devised; after all the glowing descriptions of its transcendent excellence, as a system for communicating Christianity and civilization to the natives; it turns out that the philanthropic part of their plan, which is thus put forward so prominently, for the purpose of influencing religious and benevolent persons to embark in the undertaking, is not to be carried into effect *by the Association themselves*. The agency necessary for effecting the elevation of the natives is left contingent on *the zeal to be awakened in the mother-country*; and the pecuniary means necessary for its support are looked for from *zealous societies or individuals*, and are not to be provided out of *the funds of the Association*. If the language which the Association employ have any meaning, then is it most manifest, that the work of Christianizing the New Zealanders, on which, as has been shown, their civilization entirely depends, is to be left in the hands where it now is; and that the Missionary Societies, and their liberal friends and supporters in this country, are to enjoy, as at present, the privilege of providing *pecuniary means*, as well as agents, for its successful prosecution."

The sound, practical sense of the above observations is not more conspicuous than the genuine and single-minded zeal for the best interests of the natives which distinguishes the whole of Mr. Beecham's pamphlet. If his arguments, together with those of Mr. Coates, had had their due weight with the public generally, much of the misery attendant upon the formation of the settlements of Wellington, Plymouth, and especially of Nelson, might have been avoided.

But this is anticipating. To return to the course of events. The promoters of the proposed Association, aware (according to Mr. Wakefield)* that "the Colonial-office would be hostile" to their project, sought and obtained, through Mr. Francis Baring, M.P., an interview with the premier, Viscount Melbourne, in June, 1837; Lord Howick, then a member of the government, "who had paid great attention to colonial subjects," was likewise present.

At this interview, it is important to re-

mark, that "no draft of a bill was produced, and no detailed account was given of the means which the association proposed to adopt for carrying their objects into effect; but almost immediately after it, a very imperfect outline of a proposed bill was submitted to Viscount Melbourne, and also to Viscount Howick, by Mr. Baring, on the 14th of June, 1837, "under an impression," says Mr. Wakefield, "that Lord Melbourne, not intending to bestow much attention on the subject, would probably be guided by the judgment of Lord Howick."

The latter-named nobleman, on being informed that such an impression existed, immediately wrote to Mr. Ward, the secretary of the Association, stating that there was a misapprehension as to the extent of the authority given to him on the subject; and, in a letter to Mr. F. Baring, dated the 29th of June, "disclaimed having any power to give any decision, on the part of the government, upon the proposal." His lordship "always expressed his opinion that the scheme was not at that time so far matured as to render it possible for the government to express a definitive opinion, either favourable or hostile to the measure; and that it was only when the clauses of it (the bill) were actually drawn out, and when the manner in which the principle was carried into effect should be seen, that the government could possibly form a judgment whether the bill would be objectionable or not."*

On the 29th of December, a deputation from the New Zealand Association again waited on Lord Melbourne, Lord Glenelg being present as colonial minister. A week after, the same persons had an interview with Lord Glenelg, at the Colonial-office, and were then informed that, during the week, some important despatches had been received from New Zealand (alluding to those of Captain Hobson and Mr. Busby: see p. 137); and that her Majesty's ministers were disposed to entertain the proposition of sanctioning the formation of a colony by a public association. They objected to its establishment by act of Parliament; but were willing to consent to "the incorporation, by a royal charter, of various persons, to whom the settlement and government of the projected colony, for some short terms of years, would be confided."

* Evidence of Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, before the Commissioners' Committee, 13th July, 1840.

* Mr. E. G. Wakefield's evidence before Parliamentary Committee, 1843—questions 883, 888, 891, 892.

This offer was officially made by Lord Glenelg to Lord Durlam, in a letter dated the 29th December, 1837; the chief provisions or conditions of the proposed charter being to the following effect:—

The settlement to be established, "if at all," with the free consent of the existing inhabitants or of their chiefs. Crown to nominate officers, with whose concurrence alone contracts for the purchase of land from the natives should be made; and no contract to be valid without its assent. Government to have a veto as to the persons who should compose the governing body of the corporation in the first instance, and the power of nominating a certain number, if they should think it expedient; and also to possess *a veto on the nomination by the corporate body of the governor* and other important functionaries. The crown to have the right of disallowing all laws enacted for the government of the colony. The whole administration—legislative, judicial, military, and financial—to be confided to the corporate body during the continuance of the charter; but the utmost publicity to be given to the proceedings of the association, by periodical reports to government and Parliament, quarterly courts, &c. A fixed proportion of the proceeds of the sales of land to be appropriated to the erection and maintenance of places of divine worship and school-houses, and for the support of ministers of religion. The most ample participation in the benefits of this provision for religious and scholastic instruction to be secured to the aborigines, for whom protectors were to be appointed by the Queen, and paid out of the land fund. Gratuitous grants of land to be prohibited, and all lands to be sold by public auction, at a fixed upset price. The rights already lawfully acquired in New Zealand by British subjects to be protected; and the missionaries to be secured in the freest exercise of their functions, in imparting religious instruction to the natives. Finally, before the colony entered upon the transaction of business, a certain capital was to be subscribed, and some definite portion paid up.

By another clause it was required that the proposed colony should not be co-extensive with the whole of the islands of New Zealand, and it was stated that a similar charter of incorporation might be granted to any other body, such companies not to interfere with the jurisdiction of each other, and to have the same restrictions im-

posed as to the selling price of land, and as to any other important particular. Concurrence with these conditions (which were evidently framed to prevent land-jobbing, and thwart plans of individual aggrandizement) was at once refused, and the offer of a charter consequently withdrawn. The Association, nevertheless, determined to prosecute their object; and if possible to force the government to a compliance with their views, through the medium of Parliament. Their first move was made in the House of Lords, where, mainly by their influence, a committee was appointed, whose "Report," dated 3rd April, 1838, has been already quoted (p. 137). So far, however, from advocating the views of the Association, the Lords declared the extension of the colonial possessions of the crown to be a question of public policy which belonged to the decision of her Majesty's government, and recommended solely that support should be given to the exertions which had already produced such beneficial results; alluding of course to the fruits of missionary labour, of which abundant evidence had been adduced before the committee.

Thus foiled in the Upper House, the association reverted to their original intention of proceeding by bill in the House of Commons. Accordingly in June, 1838, Mr. Francis Baring and Sir George Sinclair, brought in a bill, the preamble to which, after setting forth the advantages offered by New Zealand for colonization; the augmenting numbers of British settlers; the regular and increasing trade and intercourse carried on with British and other shipping; and the necessity for the establishment of some authority; goes on to the effect that—

"Whereas divers of her Majesty's subjects now in Great Britain, and possessing among them considerable property, are desirous of settling in such parts of the islands of New Zealand as the native inhabitants may be willing to cede to her Majesty, provided that adequate protection be secured to their persons and properties within such territories; and that others of her Majesty's subjects are ready and willing to advance considerable sums in order to the foundation and maintenance of settlements in the said islands, upon condition that the government thereof be confided provisionally to commissioners specially appointed for that purpose, with the approval of the crown; that the waste lands be disposed of to settlers by sale only, upon a sound and uniform system, and that the purchase-money thereof be employed principally as an emigration fund."

The leading enactments of the bill by which, according to the preamble, her Majesty's said subjects were to be enabled to carry the above purposes into effect, were

the appointment of sixteen commissioners therein named, *three* or more of whom might sit as a board, and in the absence of the chairman, might appoint one of their number "to preside for that turn," and exercise the chairman's privilege of a casting vote. The commissioners to be empowered to make treaties with the natives or other competent persons in New Zealand, to impose taxes, customs, duties, and assessments; appoint councils of government; constitute courts of justice; exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction; maintain and command armed land and sea forces; proclaim and enforce martial law whenever they should deem necessary; borrow money to any extent at 10 per cent.; create "a public debt to be owing by the settlements in all time to come to the holders of all such securities, bonds, obligations, or grants of annuities as shall have been made, granted, or issued by the said commissioners," and all without any private responsibility on the part of the borrowers. There were other clauses authorizing the Queen on the application of the commissioners, to erect a bishopric in New Zealand, decreeing that it should be lawful for her Majesty to appoint a protector of aborigines. All purchases made by individuals after the proclamation of this act in New Zealand, to be void.

The land purchased from, or ceded by the natives was to be sold at an uniform price of not less than 12s. an acre, "whatever the quality or situation of the land put up for sale," (rock, mountain, or bog). The land revenue thus obtained, after deducting one-fourth, to be divided into two parts—one called the "purchase fund," and the other the "emigration fund,"—the former to be used for the "fulfilment of such treaties or contracts for the cession of territories and sovereign rights, as shall be

* Mr. E. G. Wakefield assured the Parliamentary committee of 1840, that "the New Zealand Association resembled in its constitution the Anti-Slavery Society;" that "*no member of it had any private interest whatever*;" in fact, that all were actuated by purely patriotic motives. This assertion is, as we have already seen, contradicted by the clause (43) which provided for the reimbursement to some of the commissioners named in the bill, of moneys said to have been expended by them, and others under the name of the New Zealand Company of 1825, but on other grounds their alleged "*patriotic motives*" are pointedly denied by several individuals; among other statements I find the printed copy of a letter transmitted officially to Lord Glenelg on the 4th of January, 1838, of which the original was forwarded to Mr. E. Gibbon Wakefield

made in pursuance of this act; and in defraying the incidental expenses strictly relating thereto;" the latter to be devoted to emigration purposes. The "fourth part" of the land revenue above-mentioned to be employed for local improvements, to the extent of *one-fifth*,—and to the extent of *one-twentieth*, for the benefit and improvement of the natives; the remainder to be at the disposal of the commissioners.

A "commissioner for native titles," was to be *appointed by the commissioners*, to hear and determine the claims of all persons to lands bought by them from the natives before the proclamation of this act; and claimants dissatisfied with the land commissioner's award, were to be at liberty to *appeal to the courts and judges appointed by the commissioners*. In fact, all acquirements of land by British subjects in New Zealand previous to the passing of this act, were to be at the mercy of the commissioners, and to be subject to such further regulations as to them should "seem meet." The commissioners were also to be authorized to buy up the "claims and rights" of a "New Zealand company," which was to have been formed in 1825, in consideration of the members of the said company "consenting to relinquish their claims" to a charter, and to "cede all their lands and rights" in New Zealand. What those lands and rights were was not stated; neither the money expended, nor the money to be paid, nor the nature of the promised charter to have been granted thirteen years previous; nor the names of the members who were to receive this remuneration,—it was however understood that several of the commissioners named in this bill of 1838, were the identical members (or their legal representatives) of the intended New Zealand Company of 1825.*

Two other clauses which ought not to be on the same day. The writer, Mr. White, was an active member of the New Zealand Association, and materially assisted in the preparation of the work entitled *The Principles, Objects, and Plans, of the New Zealand Association*. Without vouching for the character of Mr. White, attaching implicit credence to his assertions, or entering in detail into the very grave and explicit charges which he brings forward, I shall merely observe that he declares himself to have believed up to Thursday the 28th December, that the gentlemen of the committee were really actuated by *public motives* solely, whereas on that day he had heard four gentlemen of the committee, (whose names are stated, and who were well known to have actively exerted themselves both in and out of parliament in behalf of the Association,) avow distinctly that they entered into the Associa-

left unnoticed were—first, the exemption from custom duties in Great Britain of various articles, the growth or produce of New Zealand; second, the exemption from stamp duty of all bonds and other instruments executed by the commissioners.

The bill was opposed by her Majesty's ministers for many obvious reasons, some of which are forcibly stated in the subjoined extract from the speech of Viscount Howick:—

"If the parties interested in the measure think proper to advance these new funds, they may do so when they please; but it is a totally different question when the government are called upon to countenance and sanction, by an act of parliament, a measure of this kind, in which it is provided that the scheme may be carried on by means of a borrowed capital, bearing interest at £10 per cent." * * * "The government is not unwilling to consider, and if possible, to support, a measure for colonizing New Zealand, which shall have incorporated in it the two principles—first, of security against inveiglement of her Majesty's subjects; and secondly, security for the observance of justice towards the aborigines. This is the extent of the promise given by government. But this bill answers neither of these conditions; it affords security neither to the subjects of the crown, nor to the natives of New Zealand. I do not wish to enter at length into details; each clause, if possible, is more monstrous than the other."—*Vide Mirror of Parliament*, 1838, p. 4,919.

The House of Commons agreed in opinion with her Majesty's ministers, and the bill was thrown out by a large majority. It might naturally be supposed that its unconstitutional and unreasonable provisions were amply sufficient to account for its rejection, but we find Mr. Wakefield stating in his evidence, before the House of Commons' committee, 13th of July, 1840, that "the whole measure was opposed upon the grounds of a supposition which had been very diligently spread over the country, that this was a joint-stock company, having no object but to make money by what is called *land-sharking* in New Zealand."

Perhaps some of my readers may be reminded by the above uncalled for assertion, of the old French proverb, "*Qui s'excuse s'accuse*."

On the rejection of the bill, the New Zealand Association dissolved itself, but speedily reappeared under a somewhat altered form and denomination, for several of its most diligent promoters, aware that various causes, already related, were tending to the establishment of British sovereignty in New

tion, and became members of the committee, with the sole and exclusive object of promoting Mr. Wakefield's scheme and placing him at the head of it.

Zealand, in which case the Crown would doubtless acquire the right of pre-emption with regard to all future purchases, and thus materially check, if not entirely stop their projects; knew that no time was to be lost, and formed themselves into a joint-stock association, which they at first designated the New Zealand Colonization Company, afterwards the New Zealand Land Company, and eventually, the New Zealand Company.

On the 4th of March, 1839, Mr. Standish Motte, as chairman of the New Zealand Colonization Company, solicited on its behalf an interview with the Marquis of Normanby (then secretary of state for the colonies), "with a view to obtaining through his lordship the fulfilment of a pledge," which he (Mr. Motte) alleged to have been given by Lord Glenelg, in December, 1837, for the grant of a royal charter of incorporation on certain conditions. By the "re-organization of the Association," the chairman declared that the required conditions had been fully complied with: he further stated that—

"A vessel has already been purchased, at a considerable expense, for the pioneer expedition and the surveying staff, which is still lying in the dock; and it is imperative to the interests of those who have sold their property and embarked their fortunes upon the pledge of the government last year, that the sanction of her Majesty's government to a charter should be immediately obtained, in order that the expedition should forthwith sail."

By what statements the persons alluded to in the above paragraph had been led to believe that the government were "pledged to protect and sanction" their rash proceedings, I do not attempt to conjecture. Lord Normanby replied (11th March, 1839) that the offer of a charter in 1838 had been distinctly rejected by the parties to whom it was made, who then—

"Applied to Parliament to obtain the powers which they had failed to procure from the Crown, and the application was unsuccessful. During the interval which has since elapsed, much additional information had been obtained, bearing materially upon the question which is in debate. Under such circumstances, Lord Normanby would hold himself entirely unfettered by the offer of the last year, even if the benefit of it were now claimed by the persons to whom it was made. This, however, is not the case. The list of the gentlemen with whom you are now acting, differs most essentially from the list which was laid before Lord Glenelg in the year 1838."

Lord Normanby however consented to receive the proposed deputation, on condition of its being distinctly understood that the government were "as free to consider and act upon this subject for the public

good as though the rejected offer of 1838 had not been made, otherwise he declined doing so until that preliminary question shall have been brought to a decision."

Whether the solicited interview did or did not take place is not recorded in the parliamentary papers. The following document to that from which I have just quoted, is a letter from W. Hutt, Esq., M.P., to the Marquis of Normanby, dated 29th April, 1839, requesting, on behalf of the New Zealand Land Company, that his lordship would furnish their principal agent, Colonel Wakefield, then on the eve of departing to New Zealand, to found a settlement there, with letters to the governors of the Australasian colonies, "similar to those which Lord Glenelg gave to Colonel Light, the commander of the exploring vessel sent to South Australia in 1836."* A copy of the instructions ostensibly issued to the agent was enclosed. Here it should be remarked, that the circumstances under which Colonel Light went to South Australia were *totally different* to those under which Colonel Wakefield was about to take his departure for New Zealand.

In August, 1834, an act of Parliament erected South Australia into a British colony; in May, 1835, Colonel Torrens and other commissioners were appointed under that act, by which an extensive territory was committed to their management, and they were authorized to sell the lands of the Crown, which they did up to March, 1836, the period when Colonel Light was sent out to select the site of a capital, and to survey the *British possession* of South Australia. (See Div. iv., p. 638-9.) The New Zealand Land Company, were, on the contrary, sending out an agent on a private speculation, for which they had unsuccessfully endeavoured, by various direct and indirect means, to obtain the sanction of the government. The present request must be included among the latter class of measures, the design being to obtain from the secretary of state an official recognition of their agent, or at least some expression which should imply tacit acquiescence in their proceedings. The manœuvre failed entirely, as will be seen by the following extract from the reply immediately made by his lordship to Mr. Hutt, through Mr. Labouchere, the under secretary of state:—

"Lord Normanby now, for the first time, learns,

* Parliamentary Papers—New Zealand, 1840 pp. 20, 22, 23.

DIV. V.

that a body of her Majesty's subjects are about to proceed to New Zealand, to purchase large tracts of land there, and to establish a system of government independent of the authority of the British crown. It is impossible that his lordship should do any act which could be construed into a direct or indirect sanction of such a proceeding. Abstaining from the expression of any opinion upon a measure so imperfectly developed in the papers which accompanied your letter, Lord Normanby thinks it necessary that the parties concerned should be distinctly apprized that her Majesty's government cannot recognise the authority of the agents whom the company may employ; and that if, as it is probable, the Queen should be advised to take measures, without delay, to obtain cession in sovereignty to the British crown of any parts of New Zealand which are or shall be occupied by her Majesty's subjects, officers selected by the Queen will be appointed to administer the executive government within any such territory. Lord Normanby wishes it to be further understood, that no pledge can be given for the *future recognition*, by her Majesty, of any *proprietary titles to lands within New Zealand*, which the company or any persons may obtain by grant or by purchase from the natives. On the contrary, with a view to the protection of the interests of the aborigines, as well as to the future prosperity of any colony which may be established in New Zealand, it is probable that application to Parliament may hereafter become necessary to provide for the investment in the Crown of any proprietary rights which may be thus acquired by private parties, with such equitable compensations to them as under all the circumstances of the case may appear expedient. Under these circumstances Lord Normanby must decline to furnish the Company with the introductory letters for which they apply."†

Notwithstanding this explicit warning, the Company resolved to persevere in their project, though by somewhat circuitous measures. Far from obeying the desire contained in the previous letter, by "distinctly apprizing" the unfortunate persons about to emigrate under their auspices, that they would do so without the sanction, if not in direct opposition to, the government of their country—the directors withheld a fact most important to all in any manner concerned in their proceedings; and on the following day (2nd May, 1839,) issued a prospectus of the New Zealand Land Company, capital £400,000, in 4,000 shares of £100 each; deposit, £10 per share. This was subsequently reduced to £100,000, in 4,000 shares of £25 each.—Governor, the Earl of Durham, deputy-governor, Joseph Somes (a large ship-owner), and a directory consisting of Lord Petre, Sir George Sinclair, M.P., and Sir Henry Webb, baronets, Colonel Torrens, Aldermen Thompson, M.P., and Pirie, John Abel Smith, W. Hutt, M.P., G. Palmer, M.P., Geo. F. Young, Russell Ellice, Stew-

† Parliamentary Papers, 1840; pp. 27, 28.

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art Marjoribanks, and several other gentlemen of high standing.

There are few clauses in the prospectus in which some latent and unavowed object may not be traced; but the propositions especially requiring remark are the following:—

“(1st.) Very extensive tracts of most fertile land in situations highly favourable both for agricultural and commercial settlements, have been *already* purchased and secured for the purposes of this Company. (2nd.) And an expedition has also been fitted out and dispatched for surveying the coasts of New Zealand, making purchases of lands in the most eligible spots, and preparing for the arrival of a large body of settlers, whom it is proposed to establish on the Company’s lands during the present year.”

The first assertion is contradicted by an official statement made by the Company on another occasion (see p. 146); with regard to the second, it should be remembered, that the *Tory* did not sail from Plymouth until ten days after the date of this prospectus; and by the third, an unqualified announcement is made of the intention of establishing a large body of settlers on the Company’s lands in the present year; whereas the Company, by their subsequent admission, possessed no claim to any land adapted for a settlement, and moreover, must have been aware, from the accounts of the missionaries and other credible eye-witnesses, of the difficulties attendant upon the legal purchase of extensive territory in New Zealand, and the length of time that, according to native custom, must be spent in bringing any such arrangement to a satisfactory conclusion. Yet the prospectus goes on to state that,—

“These important purchases, and the fitting out of the preliminary expedition (including the purchase and equipment of a fine vessel of 400 tons), have been effected at a considerable outlay, by parties to whom 600 paid-up shares have consequently been assigned for a transfer of their interests.”

“The *directors* are to have the entire management and control of the funds, formation, proceedings, and affairs of the Company, and are empowered to enter into any arrangements *whatever* which they may consider conducive to the interests of this undertaking.”

Thus, irresponsible power was assumed

* See Letter to the Directors of the New Zealand Company, from the Land-purchasers resident in the first and principal settlement.—Printed and published at Wellington, Port Nicholson, 1846.

† Mr. E. J. Wakefield states that his uncle was instructed to acquire land upon a far greater scale than was ever necessary for the purposes of cultivation, or even of speculation by individuals.—*Adventure in New Zealand*, vol. i. p. 17.

by the directors, of whom a *quorum* of three was sufficient to transact the most important business of the Company; no voice being accorded to the proprietors who contributed the capital, or to the purchasers of the so-called land-orders, who subsequently bitterly upbraided the directors for their “unfulfilled promises,” “unredeemed pledges,” and “reckless disregard of their interests.”* The preliminary expedition (despatched in the vessel above alluded to, named the *Tory*, and purchased from Mr. Joseph Somes, the deputy-governor,) consisted of the company’s chief agent, Mr., or by courtesy, Colonel William Wakefield, a gentleman who had obtained rank in Spanish mercenary service, and Mr. Edward Jerningham Wakefield, the latter being the son, the former the brother, of Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a naturalist (Dr. Dieffenback), a draughtsman (Mr. Heaphy), a surgeon (Mr. Dorset), and a New Zealander named Nayti, whom it was hoped would act as interpreter; but *no land-surveyor or engineer, and no minister of the gospel*. The *Tory* sailed from Plymouth on the 12th of May, 1839, with instructions to proceed direct to Cook’s Straits, in New Zealand, and purchase as much land as possible on either side of the Straits. The reason of this haste was, doubtless, to obtain a title of some kind to very considerable territories† before the establishment of British sovereignty, and so acquire a claim to the “equitable compensation” of which Lord Normanby had made mention. Even before the departure of Colonel Wakefield, arrangements, as we have seen, were publicly made by the Company for the sale of lands which they were *about sending* an agent to obtain from the natives, in exchange for an assortment of goods, among which the chief, and unfortunately, the most tempting articles to the natives, were muskets, gunpowder, ball-cartridge, and tomahawks. Books and pamphlets were widely distributed throughout the United Kingdom, and the glowing descriptions in their pages‡ led many to believe that the mere purchase of a nominal section of 100

† Some idea of the delusions which were promulgated respecting New Zealand at this period, especially as regarded the neighbourhood of Cook’s Straits, may be gathered from one instance of the exaggerated statements put forth, viz.—that the river which flows into Port Nicholson, now called the *Hutt*, was as broad and deep as the *Thames* at *London Bridge* for eighty miles, and “extended much farther.”—Vide *New Zealand Association*.

acres and "a town lot," from the New Zealand Company, was equal to a prize-ticket in a lottery.

The prominent objects of the Company were stated to be "systematic colonization," the removal of a community, in all its component parts, from the mother country to the distant land; "concentration," or the settling down in one spot, instead of dispersion; a high price for land, abundance of labour and low wages, a prevention of the cottier or squatter system, so that the poorer emigrant might not become an owner of land until he became a capitalist, and the application of a duly regulated supply of labour to capital: these, stripped of many meaningless words and studiously ambiguous phrases, were, so far as I can ascertain, the leading points of the "Wakefield theory."

On the 1st of June, 1839, the Company issued proposals for the sale of nine-tenths of a township of 110,000 acres, in lots of 101 acres for £100, *each lot comprising 100 acres of country land, and one town section*: £75 per cent. of the purchase money was to be employed in emigration, and £25 per cent. in defraying the expenses of the survey and the management of the land, and to furnish a profit upon the capital invested. *One-tenth* of each township was to be reserved for the benefit of the natives: priority of choice for the whole of the sections to be decided by a lottery.

The mad haste with which intending emigrants entered into the scheme, is evidenced by the fact recorded by the Company in their first report to the proprietors, dated May, 1840, in the following terms:—

"The lands comprised in the preliminary sales were offered to the public *by anticipation*; but so strong was the public confidence in your directors, that *in a few weeks the whole of the preliminary sections had been disposed of, and the Company had realized a land revenue of £99,990.*" Again—"The whole of the preliminary sections sold, from Nos. 1 to 1,100, have since experienced a considerable rise in value, according to the priority of choice, and the predilection of purchasers."

An able and well-informed writer, after quoting the above passage, says—"This certainly was a great proof of the confidence of the public in the directors, but says little for the foresight of the latter in accepting the money; for at that time *they did not possess a single acre at the site of their first*

settlement."* Of the quality of the land thus sold by "anticipation," both the buyers and the sellers could form but a very indistinct idea. Indeed, it is putting the most lenient possible construction on this transaction, to suppose that the directors were wholly ignorant of the comparatively small portion of available land in New Zealand, and especially in the neighbourhood of Cook's Straits; and had really no idea, that even should they succeed in acquiring a valid title to the thousands of acres which they were selling, at twenty shillings each, they were nevertheless cruelly deluding the purchasers, inasmuch as many of the 100 acre sections eventually proved to be composed of mountain and ravine; some of swamps, that required skilful and expensive draining; and others were so densely covered with timber (and that not, as was represented, of the valuable description called *Kauri*, which, so far as is yet known, grows only in the northern portion of the Northern Island), as to require an expenditure of from ten to twenty, and even forty pounds an acre in clearing them. The "town acre" to be given in, was an inducement which I cannot but think it was unworthy in any public body (even in a lottery for the avowed purpose of gambling) to hold out. A very small amount of forethought on the part of the speculators would have led them to see the folly of a proceeding calculated to benefit a few "lucky" individuals, at a heavy cost to the rest.

Let the reader imagine an isolated town, of nearly two miles square, laid out in a rugged wilderness, extending—say from Hyde-park corner to Hammersmith in one direction, and from Kensington to Kensal-green in another, and which, in all human probability, could not contain more than a few thousand inhabitants at the termination of some years; he will then see the impossibility of watching, lighting, draining, cleansing, paving, or carrying into execution any of the numerous conveniences which, to civilized men, have become requisites in a town. The few who, in the lottery of the New Zealand Company, could obtain the privilege of choosing a central position, or one near that selected for the residence of the agent, might, it is true, derive some of the advantages of neighbourhood in a strange land: the many, whose locations were widely

p. 112), the fact being, that it was fordable at the mouth, and not to be ascended in a small boat farther than eight miles, even with frequent portages.

* *New Zealand Company, its Claims to Compensation considered.* Seeley and Co. 1845.

scattered, could not reasonably expect to find in them either the security for life and property, or any other of the benefits which may be attained, with comparative ease, by a concentrated and organized community. After selling the first 110,000 acres, another prospectus was issued, 30th July, 1839, in which the directors stated themselves to be—

“Now ready to receive applications for country lands, to the extent of 50,000 acres, in sections of 100 acres each, at the price of £100 per section, or £1 an acre, to be *paid in full, in exchange for the land order*, which will entitle the holders thereof to select country sections accordingly, either at the Company's principal settlement, or at Hokianga, Kaipara, Manukau, the islands of Waiheke and Paroa, the borders of the Thames, or any other part of the present or future territories of the Company, so soon as the requisite surveys thereof shall have been completed.”

At the period when these prospectuses were issued, the Company had acquired no more right to sell 110,000 and 50,000 acres of land in New Zealand, than they had in England, France, China, or any other foreign country. Yet, without waiting for tidings of the proceedings of their agent, or even of his safe arrival in New Zealand, ship after ship full of emigrants was despatched to a rendezvous in Cook's Strait, where it was “anticipated” Colonel Wakefield would have made arrangements for their reception. The first of these, the *Cuba*, left London in the beginning of August, 1839, with a surveying staff, (consisting of a principal surveyor, and three assistant surveyors); other vessels followed in such close succession, that between the departure of the *Tory*, in May, 1839, and February 24th, 1840, as many as twelve ships were sent out, laden with 216 first and second-class cabin passengers, and 909 labourers, “without any certainty of being able to give them secure possession of a foot of land,”* or provide them with even temporary shelter on their arrival!

* Vide *New Zealand Company's Claim to Compensation considered*, p. 15.

† A map, published by Laurie, was referred to by Mr. E. Gibbon Wakefield, in July, 1840, (House of Commons' Committee), as showing the extent of the territories on either side of Cook's Straits, acquired by Colonel Wakefield in 1839, and to which the Company considered they had an *unobjectionable title*. The portion north of Cook's Straits was called *North Durham*; that to the south, *South Durham*. According to the coloured line on the map, the possessions thus acquired comprise *four hundred miles*, from Albatross Point, in North Island, to Bald Head, in South Island, and include *Kapiti*, and all other islands in Cook's Straits, the whole coast line north

Meanwhile the *Tory* had (17th August, 1839), safely and speedily reached her destination in Cook's Straits. Up to the 30th of August, Colonel Wakefield, according to the garbled extracts from his journals, appended to the report of the New Zealand Company, does not seem to have commenced any treaty with the natives for the purchase of land. Some of them had visited the ship, and he had been several times on shore. On that day, however, he appears to have become acquainted with a person named Barrett, who had followed the occupation of a whaler for some years in New Zealand, and was living with a native woman.

By his assistance, Colonel Wakefield, in the space of very little more than two months, concluded three nominal purchases of land, “extending from the 38th to the 43rd degree of latitude, on the west coast; and from the 41st to the 43rd degree on the east coast.”†

The “consideration” paid by Colonel Wakefield, on obtaining the signature, by a few chiefs, of the three deeds by which a territory as large as Ireland was supposed to be wholly and legally alienated from a population (according to Mr. Clarke) of *thirty thousand souls*,‡ each one of whom had a vested interest in it, and, according to native usage, a voice in its disposal, is not the least exceptionable part of the proceedings of the New Zealand Company.

The following is a list of the articles bartered for the lands mentioned in the deeds of purchase, dated respectively the 27th September, 1839, 25th October, 1839, and 8th November, 1839, to the first of which was appended a condition that a portion of the land ceded by them (the chiefs), equal to one-tenth part of the whole would be reserved and held in trust by the New Zealand Company for the future benefit of the said chiefs, their families, and heirs for

and south of Cook's Straits, and east and west of North and South Durham, from Cape Turnagain, on the north, to near Bank's Peninsula, on the south. There was no exception, in this map, either in favour of native or any other previous occupant.

‡ According to the census of the population by tribes, prepared by Mr. Halswell the population in the districts called by the New Zealand Company North and South Durham, numbered 20,000, of whom upwards of 5,000 were “fighting men;” and Colonel Wakefield himself names eighteen tribes residing at twenty-four different places in North and South Durham, whose numbers he estimates in November, 1839, at 6,650, possibly referring only to the male adults.

ever. The second and third deeds likewise contained a promise of native reserves, but the quantity was not specified.

Articles given.	1st Deed.	2nd Deed.	3rd Deed.	Total.
Red Blankets	100	100	100	300
Muskets	120	20	60	200
Single barrelled guns	—	6	10	16
Double ditto	—	5	3	8
Tobacco, tierces	2	—	—	2
" cwt.	—	5½	10½	15¾
Iron pots	48	50	50	148
Soap, cases	2	2	2	6
Fowling-pieces	15	—	—	15
Gunpowder, kegs	21	20	40	81
Ball cartridges, casks	1	1	—	2
Lead slabs, kegs	1	1	2	4
Cartouche boxes	100	50	50	200
Tomahawks	100	100	100	300
Pipe tomahawks	40	20	—	60
Pipes, cases	1	—	1	2
" gross	—	10	—	10
Spades	24	24	24	72
Steel axes	50	50	—	100
Axes	—	—	20	20
Adzes	24	12	10	46
Fish-hooks	1,200	1,000	1,000	3,200
Bullet-moulds	12	—	12	24
Flints	—	500	1,000	1,500
Sbirts	144	72	60	276
Jackets	20	60	12	92
Trowsers, pairs	20	60	12	92
Red night-caps	60	—	—	60
Cotton duck, yards	300	—	—	300
Calico, yards	200	—	—	200
Cheek, yards	100	200	—	300
Print, yards	—	—	200	200
Pocket-handkerchiefs	240	120	120	480
Slates	24	24	24	72
Pencils	200	200	200	600
Looking-glasses	120	60	24	204
Pocket knives	120	120	36	276
Scissors, pairs	120	60	24	204
Shoes, pairs	12	—	—	12
Umbrellas	12	—	—	12
Hats	12	—	—	12
Beads, lbs.	2	2	2	6
Ribbon, yards	100	—	—	100
Jews' harps	144	—	—	144
Razors	12	12	12	36
Dressing combs	120	60	—	180
Iloes	72	—	—	72
Superfine clothes, suits	2	—	—	2
Shaving boxes	12	12	12	36
Ditto brushes	12	—	—	12
Sealing wax, sticks	12	—	—	12
Cartridge paper, quires	—	6	5	11
Finishing coats	—	12	—	12
Combs	—	—	24	24*

The first point for remark on the foregoing document is the fact that a professedly

* The author of the *New Zealand Company's Claims to Compensation Considered*, says—"The list of articles which formed the consideration of the purchase is worth perusing, and the distribution of some of them is really amusing. It will not escape observation, that the parties to each deed obtained a supply of razors and shaving boxes; but those only who signed the first got the shaving brushes; that while the parties to No. 1 got the sealing-wax, parties to No. 2 and 3 got the paper; and that of the three sets, the most fortunate were those who executed the first deed; for they received all the Jews' harps, in number 144 (possibly to encourage a taste for music in the vicinity of the capital), besides twelve umbrellas, which at the celebrated review, on the

Christian company in London send out their agent with "200 muskets, 16 single-barrelled guns, 8 double-ditto, 15 fowling-pieces, 81 kegs of gunpowder, 2 casks of ball cartridge, 4 kegs lead slabs, 24 bullet moulds, 11 quires cartridge paper, 200 cartouche boxes, 1,500 flints, and 300 tomahawks," to purchase land from a people among whom Christian missionaries had for years been striving to spread the peaceful influences of the Gospel. I have, I believe, before mentioned the firmness with which the members both of the Church and Wesleyan mission refused to procure even the necessities of life by supplying the aborigines with instruments of warfare; more than this, they would not even suffer their blacksmiths to repair a gun. No wonder that the keen-witted natives should remember the designation they had formerly given to the most depraved of their early European visitors, and say of the emissaries of the New Zealand Company, "they cannot be Christians—they must be *the devil's missionaries*, who bring us muskets and gunpowder."† Some members of the select committee of the House of Commons on 17th July, 1840, endeavoured to obtain evidence from Mr. Ward, the secretary of the New Zealand Company, as to the actual cost of these "twenty million acres;" but the question was, in legal phraseology "fenced;" Mr. Ward would not return a direct and explicit answer; he said the value of the goods sent out in the *Tory* was about £9,000, and a second adventure in the *Cuba* amounted to £8,000—"a portion had been given to the chiefs and other natives by the Company's agent," the "rest of the goods remain in the hands of the Company's agent in New Zealand."

The testimony of Mr. Carrington, who was employed by the company as chief surveyor of the Taranaki District, and whose personal character and ability as a surveyor,

occasion of christening the flag-staff, they did not fail to exhibit."

† It was not only, however, in 1839 that the Company supplied the New Zealanders with instruments of destruction. At Manawatu, on 2nd February, 1842, Captain M. Smith, "on behalf of the New Zealand company," furnished to the natives "59 double-barrel and 16 single-barrel guns, 10 large pistols, 24 bright and 50 handled tomahawks, 30 barrels of powder, 4 bullet-moulds, 18 powder-horns, 12 metal powder-flasks, 22 boxes percussion caps, 6 dozen gun-flints," &c. At Wangaroa, in May, 1840, the Company gave the natives "10 double-barrel guns, 6 fowling-pieces, 50 casks of powder, 68 powder and shot holders, 18 bullet-moulds, 1,000 flints, 18 ear-

have been attested by them, throws considerable light upon the subject. He says—

"Not one pound that I ever heard of up to the time of my departure from New Zealand in September, 1843, was paid to the natives;" "and I am further assured by one of the Company's agents, who witnessed all the negotiations with the natives, that of the amount of £14,603 of goods (sent out in the *Tory* and *Cuba*) intended for the natives, only £1,500 at the outside was ever given them, and this to purchase a territory as large as Ireland." "Hort and Co., auctioneers at Wellington, had sales of these very goods for three successive days, and realized for them £7,000."*

Now, on the face of the thing it is manifestly absurd to suppose that a shrewd, intelligent, warlike people, who even in the time of Cook evinced some degree of civilization, and were to a certain extent tillers of the soil, and who since then had become accustomed to trade with Europeans, not for goods only, but for *money* in exchange for land, and who had been from the very first remarkable for the jealous watchfulness with which they guarded their territories alike from internal and external aggression,† should in the space of two months alienate "twenty million square aeres," including all their paha or inhabited villages, with the cultivated ground attached, even their burying-places and all other *tapued* or sacred spots, for the paltry consideration above named. It is next to impossible to believe that even at a far heavier cost, *all* native titles and right to such extensive territories could have been extinguished in the time and manner described by Colonel Wakefield.‡

A part of the coast was seen from the decks of the *Tory*, a few chiefs paddled off in their canoes, or swam through the surf: they were asked the names of such-and-such points, such-and-such districts of country,

touché boxes, 2 casks of cartridges, 3 bundles of cartridge paper," &c. At Taranaki, in February, 1840, the Company gave the natives "fifty bright guns, 40 casks of powder, 1 cask of ball cartridges, 12 patent cartouche boxes, 20 powder horns, 80 tomahawks," &c. "A case of guns," valued at £200, was also promised to the chiefs by Barrett on behalf of the Company. At Nelson Captain Wakefield, R.N., gave the natives in 1841-2, "42 double-barrel guns, and 60 kegs of gunpowder." I might multiply instances to show how directly the proceedings of the Company were in contrast with the missionaries, who instead of instruments of warfare were distributing bibles and prayer-books.

* See printed letter in the library of the Colonial-office, dated 25th March, 1845, addressed to Viscount Howick, as chairman of the Select Parliamentary Committee on New Zealand, written by Mr. Carrington, to substantiate the statements made by him before the committee.

of streams or plains, or distant mountain ridges: all was written down, much more even than the eye could reach, and the question was then put to them—would they sell those territories, headlands, rivers, mountains, points, coasts and islands?

At this period of the negotiation (to take the most lenient view of the case), it is possible that a complete misunderstanding arose between the contracting parties; the would-be buyers intending to purchase the whole of the territory they themselves referred to—by sight—by description, or by the map. Those who were willing to sell "land" (indefinitely), intended to point out certain localities where they would sell it—the precise boundaries to be settled according to the only mode which they knew, or had practised; namely, by meeting, in numbers *on the very ground in question*, pointing out the limits in detail; after days, *at least*, of discussion, and shewing what places would be retained for themselves. Without this latter reservation how were they to exist? they could not go elsewhere, for all land had owners, and the provision to be at some future time afforded them by means of the much talked of "native reserves," appears to have been from the first, shadowed forth *to them* only in very dim and distant perspective.§ Supposing the majority of the chiefs to have taken this view of the case, it is easy to understand this otherwise incomprehensible transaction. Some of them probably had a more enlarged perception of the meaning of the deed they were requested to sign, but the choice assortment of muskets and red blankets, tomahawks, umbrellas, Jews'-harps, and tobacco, spread out on the deck of the *Tory*, silenced their scruples, and

† War has been known to originate between neighbouring tribes in resentment of the slightest trespass on their respective lands. For instance, the killing of rats as game by one tribe on the territory of another has alone proved a *casus belli*.

‡ App. to 12th Report of New Zealand Company.

§ Commissioner Spain says—that the interpretation of Richard Barrett to the Maories, at the time of the alleged purchase of the Port Nicholson District, "was not calculated to convey to the natives, who were parties to the purchase-deed, a correct idea of what lands that instrument purported to convey, or of the nature or extent of the reserves that had been made for their benefit; and this will in a great measure account for the very determined manner in which the natives generally, in the district, opposed the occupation of lands by the Europeans, and denied the sale to Colonel Wakefield."—Report of Mr. Commissioner Spain, March 31, 1845, Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 8th April, 1846, p. 3

they were ready to put their mark to any document whatsoever; though it should include the sale of the whole three islands of New Zealand, knowing (or at least believing) all the while, that no tract belonging to a tribe could be alienated without the consent of every member. Colonel Wakefield, on his part, expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the arrangements which he had been enabled to make by means of the "*unprecedented liberality*"* of the Company, and the directors, delighted with the easy manner in which they had acquired "*an unimpeachable title to one-third of New Zealand*," voted their agent a present of one thousand guineas, and raised his salary to £1,000 per annum.

Very different views respecting the validity of the assumed purchases of the New Zealand Company, were, however, entertained by persons of character and position, who, from various circumstances, must have had the most favourable opportunities of forming a correct judgment on the matter. Some of these testimonies, I feel it right to adduce here, in evidence of the unsound basis upon which the Company were building, and as the best means of preparing the reader for the ill success which attended their after efforts.

The first authority on this subject, namely, Mr. Spain, the commissioner specially appointed by the Crown to investigate and determine the validity of titles to land acquired from the natives, declares that—

"*All the purchases of the Company were made in a very loose and careless manner;*" he adds—"the object of the Company's agents, after going through a certain form of purchase, seems to have been to procure the insertion in their deeds, of an immense extent of territory; the descriptions of which were framed from maps, and by obtaining the names of ranges of mountains, headlands, and rivers, and were not taken from the native vendors; such descriptions were generally written in the deeds before the bargain for the purchase was concluded: these parcels contained millions of acres, and in some instances degrees of latitude and longitude. The agents of the Company were satisfied with putting such descriptions in their deeds, without taking the trouble to enquire either at the time of, or subsequently to the purchase, whether the thousands of

aboriginal inhabitants occupying the surface of these vast tracts of country, had been consenting parties to the sale. * * * I am of opinion that the greater portion of the land claimed by the Company in the Port Nicholson District, and also in the district between Port Nicholson and Wangamī, including the latter place, *has not been alienated by the natives* to the New Zealand Company; and that other portions of the same districts have been only *partially alienated* by the natives to that body. * * * I am further of opinion that the natives did not consent to alienate their pāhs, cultivations, and burying grounds."† * * * "In point of sufficiency of proof, as regards the important items of boundaries, explanations, and interpretation to the native vendors of the precise nature and extent of the transaction, and subsequent adherence to and acknowledgment of the bargain by the aborigines, the claims of the New Zealand Company were as far below the general standard of evidence on such points, in the cases of private claimants, as they generally exceeded them in extent and magnitude of the territory claimed."‡

Another witness§ thus exposes the worthlessness of the "*unimpeachable title to the vast but thinly populated territory*" supposed to have been obtained by Colonel Wakefield's transactions:—

"I have seen a copy of one of the Company's original deeds, and have no hesitation in saying that it never was interpreted to the natives; the persons employed as interpreters were incapable, even had they been disposed so to do; and it is morally impossible that the natives should consent to such a transaction, even on terms far more advantageous than those offered by the Company: and instead of the transaction being unexampled in this country for the spirit of justice and openness which characterizes it (as alleged by Colonel Wakefield), I may safely say, that the immense disparity between the paltry consideration given, and the vast extent of the country claimed, is without a parallel, excepting, perhaps, the case of Mr. Wentworth, who, wishing to embarrass Sir George Gipps, pretended to have made a purchase from certain natives of the greater part of the Middle Island, upon similar terms to those of the Company." * * * "So far from the assumptions put forth by Colonel Wakefield being attended with anything like probability, the assertion of his right to even *one-fiftieth part of the land is treated by the natives as chimerical*. The scantiness of the population, upon which so much stress has been laid, will perhaps be better understood, when it is known that *upwards of thirty thousand natives reside within the limits claimed by the Company*: and granting it to be possible to effect such a purchase, it would, on the most reasonable computation, require years to complete it."||

* In a letter from Colonel Wakefield to the secretary of the New Zealand Company, dated Wellington, 26th February, 1841, we find the following passage, which requires no comment:—"The first expedition despatched by the Company to this country acquired a vast territory, in strict accordance with the hitherto recognised form of obtaining land herein, and with the usages of the aborigines. It moreover gave to the aborigines more than the full market and a *satisfactory price* for the land ceded."

† Mr. Commissioner Spain's Report, see Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1844, p. 305.

‡ Mr. Commissioner Spain, 19th November, 1843. Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand.

§ Mr. George Clarke, Protector of Aborigines.

|| Letter dated 26th October, 1843. See Appendix to Report from Select Committee on New Zealand, 1844, p. 284.

Mr. R. D. Hanson, who was sent out in the *Cuba* by the New Zealand Company, to arrange their land purchases, says:—

“The attempt to construe a purchase of twenty million acres at the rate of *sixpence per thousand acres*, so as to deprive those natives of their lands who have not signed the conveyance, is necessarily absurd and unjust.”

It would be easy to multiply evidence of the same bearing, in proof, if the fact were not self-evident, that Colonel Wakefield, in his nominal acquisition of 20,000,000 acres, had grasped a shadow; a limited territory, fairly purchased, at thrice the cost, would have been a substance far more beneficial to the Company. Possibly, both the agent and the directors hoped that the settlers, on their arrival, would so over-awe the natives by their numbers, as to be suffered to locate themselves with impunity; and that after inquiry into the legality of their purchases on the part of the crown, would be by the same means rendered less scrutinizing, “possession being nine-tenths of the law.” If so, they were greatly mistaken, and especially with respect to the natives, who manifested from the first an unwavering determination to oppose the attempted usurpation of their respective territories.

The extracts above quoted refer to the general invalidity of the titles acquired by the company; in detailing the establishment of the settlements of *Wellington, Nelson, and New Plymouth*, it may be necessary to show, that in each instance the unauthorised occupation of land was a leading cause of the sufferings of mind and body, the wreck of property, and even loss of life, experienced by the unfortunate colonists.

The first (so-called) purchase by Colonel Wakefield was the Port Nicholson or Wellington District, and of this formal possession is stated by him to have been taken on the 30th of September, 1839. From his journal we learn that he landed with his party under a salute of twenty-one guns from the *Tory*, and the *New Zealand flag* (not the *British*), was hoisted at a spot where an immense flag-staff had been erected, and at the main of the ship, simultaneously. A war-dance was then performed by the natives, armed with their newly-acquired muskets, after which (Mr. E. J. Wakefield informs us,) the whole assemblage partook of an ample meal from “the joints of a pig, which had been sacri-

ficed for the occasion.” The English then “drank the healths of the chiefs and people of Port Nicholson in bumpers of champagne, and christening the flag-staff, took formal possession of the harbour and district for the New Zealand Land Company, amidst the hearty cheers of the mixed spectators.”* No such public demonstration appears to have accompanied the conclusion of either of the subsequent deeds of purchase. Yet how thoroughly untenable even the first really was, may be understood from the following statement made by Mr. Hanson:—

“The original purchase of the district of Wellington on the part of the New Zealand Company, has been fully investigated by the Commissioner appointed for that purpose, and his inquiries demonstrated the *worthlessness of their title*. The evidence taken before him *completely disproved* those statements of the *universal assent* of the natives, which were published in Colonel Wakefield’s Journal, and upon the faith of which the claims of the Company were originally vested.” “The original agreement for the purchase of the Wellington District was made only with the Ngatiawa natives residing on the *shores* of the harbour, who could only transfer such rights as they possessed; at that time they only occupied the land in the immediate vicinity of the harbour, their farthest cultivation not extending to more than a mile-and-a-half from the beach.” The whole of the upper part of the valley of the Hutt was claimed by a chief named Kaparatchau, whose rights were not even known by Colonel Wakefield, until about one year and-a-half after the date of the first purchase, which he assumed to have made of the whole.”

It must not, however, be supposed that the proprietary rights of the natives were the only ones extinguished by Colonel Wakefield; on the contrary, those acquired by missionaries, whalers, and others, on either side the straits, fell under the same monopolising grasp.

One illustration will suffice:—Some time before the arrival of the *Tory* the aborigines in the vicinity of Port Nicholson having manifested an earnest desire for missionary instruction, two members of the Wesleyan mission (the Rev. Mr. Bumby and Mr. Hobbs) proceeded thither for the purpose of establishing a station. A suitable spot was selected and purchased, and formally tapued, and a part of the price was paid down to the chiefs, who owned it as an *earnest* for the purpose of securing the purchase to the Missionary Committee according to New Zealand law and usage. Six native teachers, with their families, were placed upon the land to keep possession of it, and to com-

* *Adventure in New Zealand*, vol. i., p. 99.

mence the work of instructing their countrymen until English missionaries should arrive.* On the return of the Rev. Mr. Bumby to the Hokianga, an English missionary was sent to take the management of the new station; but before he could reach it, the Agent of the New Zealand Company had arrived, bought the Society's land *over again* from the principal chief, Warepori, and taken possession of it on behalf of the Company, together with the "houses and chapels," which, according to his own account, "the missionary delegates" had built upon the land.† The remonstrances made by them so far prevailed, that Colonel Wakefield at first deemed it right to offer some compensation, but the remark of the unconverted savage, Warepori—"Have you not already paid for the land and everything upon it?" quieted his rising scruples, and in the published extracts of his journal, under the date 4th December, 1839, we find the following entry:—

"He (Mr. Bumby) visited Port Nicholson just before I was there, and conceived that he had secured the land at Thorndon, till I had informed him that the chiefs had disregarded the verbal taboo he had made, and sold the entire place to the Company."

When the intelligence of this transaction reached the Wesleyan Society they immediately reported it to Lord John Russell, stating that the injury of which they complained had not originated in mistake, but had been knowingly inflicted by the principle of "might against right," a principle which, if silently submitted to, would probably involve in ruin all their other establishments in New Zealand.‡

Lord John Russell, in his reply, dated July, 1840, stated that—

"Her Majesty's ministers had never recognised the New Zealand Company as a legally constituted body, nor acknowledged the validity of the titles which that body may assert to any lands in New Zealand; but have on the contrary instructed the governor of New South Wales and Captain Hobson to take the necessary measures for ascertaining the validity of titles to any lands claimed by any of her Majesty's subjects. Lord John Russell, therefore, anticipated that 'the necessary means for rendering justice to all parties concerned,' have been already taken, but adds that he will 'however, transmit to Captain Hobson a copy of this letter, instructing him to take such measures as justice may require, and as it may be lawful for him to adopt, for the protection of the missionaries.'"

* Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, 1840; Appendix, page 152.

† See despatch of Colonel Wakefield, published in the *New Zealand Journal*, 5th June, 1840.

If the rights and claims of an influential body were thus contemptuously treated by Colonel Wakefield, it may easily be imagined that those of private individuals did not receive more consideration at his hands. It would be unjust, however, to make him the scape-goat for the sins of the directors, who had sent him out as their agent, with directions much resembling, in spirit, the often-quoted injunction of Sir Pertinax M'Sycophant—to get land, *honestly if he could; but to get it*: and they appear, even before he left England, to have determined that their first settlement should be established somewhere on the northern side of Cook's Strait, probably on the embouchure of the Hutt, which they (as has been before shown) assumed to be a navigable river. Some amount of discretionary power was probably entrusted to Colonel Wakefield on this most important point; but it was neutralized by the rapidity with which large bodies of emigrants were hurried after him, without leaving him time, under the most favourable circumstances, to do more than obtain territory where he could, and how he could. This, as we have seen, he, to some degree, succeeded in doing: but as to any arrangements made for their reception, or any allotments surveyed, as they unquestionably should have been, in readiness for the settlers on their arrival, the *Tory* might as well have been lost at sea, as she afterwards was, and might have already been, for anything the directors knew to the contrary, when they despatched nine large ships, heedless of the risk to which they were exposing the emigrants, and of the heavy responsibility they were themselves incurring. According to their own prospectus and reports, all this was done in pursuance of an "exclusively commercial" speculation, the desire of gain being the avowed object of the New Zealand Company.§

For this candid admission, the public are probably indebted to the able exposition, by Mr. Coates, of the much-vaunted "patriotic motives" of this body (or at least a large number of its members), when "agitating" (to quote Mr. O'Connell,) under the name of the New Zealand Association.

The *Cuba*, with the surveying staff, arrived in New Zealand only ten days before the first settlers, who (we learn from one of

‡ Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, 1840; Appendix, page 152.

§ See First Report of the New Zealand Company, May, 1840.

their number*), on landing at Port Nicholson, looked with bitter disappointment upon "the steep and barren hills which surrounded them:" and when, in addition to the physical disadvantages of their position, they discovered the invalidity of their titles to land, a re-emigration to South America was actually proposed and planned, and that not by a wild visionary, with all to gain, and nothing to lose, but by one (the late Mr. Molesworth) who was placed by the Company in the very first class of their settlers, to which he was entitled by rank, property, enterprise, and intelligence. The spot selected by Colonel Wakefield for the site of the town, then to be called Britannia, was situated at the entrance of the valley of the Hutt. The choice proved to be very injudicious, both from the nature of the ground, and the violence of the surf, which was so great, that lives were lost in attempting to land. A public meeting was consequently held in March, 1840, and the removal of the town to Lambton Harbour, (seven miles distant), on the opposite side of the bay, was determined upon. In carrying this resolve into execution, the earliest collision (of which there is any record) occurred between the new settlers and the natives. The site of the town now called Wellington was fixed at the place previously alluded to as Thorndon, which contained no less than five occupied pāhs. The natives strongly opposed the surveying of the territory, declaring that they, the rightful owners, had never sold it, and that E'Puni and the Ngatiawa tribe could have no authority to do so. They were, however, "overawed by the number of surveyors and settlers" who appeared, upon their

offering resistance, and took forcible possession even of their cultivations and pāhs, the largest of which (Te Aro) was selected as the site of the custom-house, while two or three others were included in different allotments.† The land purchased by Mr. Bumby on behalf of the Wesleyan Society, on which, as we have seen, a chapel for the performance of divine worship had been erected, was fixed upon as the fittest spot for a market-place.

This was one of the few instances in which the officers of the Company succeeded in gaining possession of land when resisted by the natives; but it had the effect of creating great distrust in the minds of the latter towards the settlers, in whose path a serious and lasting obstacle was thus placed, in addition to the many they had already to encounter. No less a period than *six months*, we are informed by Mr. Petre, elapsed between the arrival of the first body of settlers, and the delivery of *town-land* to those who had purchased it in England—the interval must, in many cases, have been much longer; and with regard to the country sections, all they could obtain was, permission "to squat" on sufferance where the natives would let, or rather wanted power to hinder them. Even when, at length, they received their allotments, the character of the land was too generally calculated to damp the energies of even British colonists.‡ Some (like Mr. Child) quitted the settlement in despair and disgust, but many could not do so, having embarked their all in a lottery in which, *for them, at least*, there were few prizes and many blanks. Yet they struggled manfully, even though month by month the Company, followed as it immediately was by the settlers, there were neither the means nor time for exploring the country. Land was taken and surveyed wherever it could most easily be found, without any reference to its quality, accessibility, or proximity to the town, and *without any regard being had to the numbers and feelings of the native population.*" The settlers also complain that they "were scattered over a tract of country 120 miles in length, and placed in the very spots where the natives are the most numerous and the most opposed to them;" and declare moreover that had the Company explored the country, as they were bound to have done, if they had seriously intended to fulfil their conditions (into which they entered), the Wairarapa valley, forty-five miles from Wellington, containing not only 700,000 acres of the richest agricultural land, but also immense tracts of country peculiarly adapted for stock and sheep farming, might have been purchased more easily and more completely than perhaps any other in the whole of New Zealand, as there was scarcely a single native in the whole valley.

* *New Zealand and the New Zealand Company, and a consideration of how far their interests are similar*, by Theophilus Heale, Esq., London, 1842; p. 5.

† *I*vide evidence of Mr. Child before the Committee on New Zealand of 1844, p. 226. This gentleman was one of the many purchasers of a "town acre and a country section" from the New Zealand Company, intending to establish himself and several members of his family in the intended settlement, but returned in disappointment on finding the country was very different from what he had been led to expect."

‡ The principal settlers at Wellington, when referring to the worthless character of the lands which they had been compelled to select, thus address the directors of the New Zealand Company:—"It cannot be a matter of surprise to you that such is the case, for you never made the slightest effort to ascertain the capabilities of the different districts before you called upon us to select our lands. Owing to the small surveying staff [consisting of a principal surveyor and three assistants] originally sent out by

the remains of their capital was passing away in the purchase of the bare necessities of life, clinging to the belief that the Company would eventually fulfil their engagements, and were, to that end, exerting their large means and powerful influence to the fullest extent in behalf of their "First and Principal Settlement;" relying meanwhile on the promise not to found any other until three years after its establishment, and little dreaming how speedily that pledge was to be violated by the formation of New Plymouth and Nelson. Besides this, a belief had been sedulously instilled into their minds that *Wellington could, would, and should*, by some means or other, be made the Capital of New Zealand. And this *ignis fatuus* they pursued as a forlorn hope, notwithstanding the manifest ineligibility of Port Nicholson for the site of the metropolis of an extensive colony.

It should here be stated, that on leaving England the emigrants had assented to and subscribed a document, according to which a provisional government was to be formed on their arrival in New Zealand, of which Colonel Wakefield was to be the head. This proceeding was publicly announced in the *Morning Chronicle*, upon which Lord John Russell desired to see a copy of the document in question, in order that it might be submitted to the law officers of the Crown, for their opinion how far persons acting under it would be justified by law. The Directors not complying with this request, after some further correspondence, received from his lordship an explicit warning, that in the event of the New Zealand Company acting in a manner contrary to law, he would not consider himself precluded by anything that had passed, from "directing legal proceedings to be instituted against that body, or against any member of it."

The directors then took the opinions of Sir Thomas Wilde, and other lawyers of eminence, who at once declared the agreement to be illegal, and advised immediate notice of its illegality to be given to any person likely to incur liabilities by acting under its supposed authority. It is scarcely possible to believe, that a Company, numbering among its members, men well versed in colonial policy, and by no means deficient in legal acumen, should have needed to be informed that an association, which the ministers of the crown had *deliberately refused to recognise*, could not be

justified, in founding a colony (for it is of more importance than appears at the first glance, that it was termed a colony and not a settlement); establishing an organized government armed with authority in all matters, civil or criminal, and invested with power from the levying of taxes to the infliction of the penalty of death; of which government, their principal agent was to be in all cases the president. Although this bold attempt to constitute an *Imperium in Imperio*, in defiance of the prerogative of the crown, was immediately denounced by its responsible minister, the emigrants had sailed before he became aware of it; for it is worthy of remark, that not one word about a provisional government appears to have been said *until* the moment of their departure, when the important document was produced, ready cut and dried; read, and placed upon the capstan for signature, whereupon, we are informed, "every man seemed to concur in the propriety of the proposed code of laws," and "not one hesitated to put his name to it," having, however, first been assured on the part of the Company, that this illegal compact was *absolutely indispensable to their security and happiness*.*

On reaching their destination, the "*Provisional Committee*" appointed in London by the Company, proceeded to organize a government, formed themselves into a "*Special Council*," and assumed jurisdiction, not only over those who had bound themselves to obey it, but over the other settlers, and crews of ships in the harbour.

The arrival of Captain Hobson, as lieutenant-governor, and the ratification of the treaty of Waitangi, did not stop this dangerous innovation on the rights of British subjects, of which one instance recorded by Mr. Petre, a member of the *Special Council*, may serve as an illustration.

A warrant was issued against a Captain Pearson on the complaint of a gentleman who had chartered his vessel from Van Diemen's Island to New Zealand. Captain Pearson was seized, and on two armed boats putting off from his ship to rescue him, "the settlers turned out to support the constables in the discharge of their duty," and forcibly conveyed their captive before the so-called magistrate, who on his refusal to acknowledge the competency of the court, committed him for trial, and (according to Dr. Martin) placed him in irons. Through what

* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 1840.

Mr. Petre styles "the culpable negligence of the constable," he managed to effect his escape, and hastened to the Bay of Islands; where he informed Captain Hobson of the state of affairs at Port Nicholson. Intelligence to the same effect from various sources likewise reached the lieutenant-governor, whose conduct at this critical juncture has been already related (see p. 142). This brings us to the period when British sovereignty was proclaimed over the islands; but before resuming the general history of New Zealand, it is necessary to relate an incident which occurred about this time, and which gave some colour of truth to an idea most industriously circulated by the organs of the Company—namely, that France was on the eve of founding a penal settlement in New Zealand, and occupying the country, when the timely arrival of their agent in Cook's Straits frustrated the attempt, and preserved these fine islands to the British crown. So adroitly was this pretext put forth to cover the proceedings of Colonel Wakefield, that many who though necessarily but imperfectly acquainted with them, yet knew enough to disapprove, were inclined to look leniently on the means for the sake of the end. For my own part I confess it was not till after careful examination that I discovered the groundlessness of the assertions set forth on this, as on many other points by the Company.

The first reason for spreading this fallacy appears to have been for the purpose of stimulating in the British public the desire to colonize New Zealand, as the only means of preventing the French from doing so, the fact of the large and increasing numbers of British subjects located and locating there, being quite overlooked. In various ways, but always in general and vague terms, this notion was circulated, and in the first report of the directors of the New Zealand Company, reference is adroitly made to the "alleged intentions of the French government to plant a penal settlement at Banks' Peninsula." In a petition signed by some of the leading merchants, bankers, and shipowners of London, soliciting the Crown to take measures for the colonization of New Zealand; it is stated that a company had been formed in France, with a capital of one million francs, to form a settlement there, and that an expedition had been dispatched for that purpose, "which expedition" the memorial adds—

"Is reported to have had an armament of forty

sailors from the French navy, and aid of money from the French government, by whom the leaders of the expedition are said to have been instructed to report on the fitness of Banks' peninsula as a place of transportation for convicts, and, at all events, to reserve for the use of the French government one-fifth of the territory which they might acquire in this part of the British dominions."

The committee appointed to inquire into the statements contained in the petition, (July, 1840,) closely investigated this matter, and after much questioning, the chairman (Lord Eliot) asked Mr. Gibbon Wakefield whether any intention had been expressed by France of establishing a penal settlement in any part of New Zealand? The reply was, "*There is no evidence of any such intention being entertained by France.*"

To understand the importance of the above admission, it should be borne in mind, that some members of the family of this witness were permanent residents in France, and active promoters of his views in the public press of that, as also of our own country; this and other circumstances, render it probable that Mr. Wakefield was, at the time, well acquainted with the following circumstances which led to the emigration of a small body of French colonists to New Zealand.

The master of a French whaler, Langlois by name, who had been engaged with others of his countrymen, for several years in fishing and sealing on the shores of these islands, on his return to France, professed to have purchased about 30,000 acres on Banks' Peninsula, upon the 23rd of August, 1838, from the native chiefs, having given them merchandize to the value of 150 francs (£6 sterling), and contracted to make a further consideration to the value of £234 sterling, on taking possession of the land. Two mercantile houses at Nantes, two at Bordeaux, and three gentlemen of Paris, associated themselves with Langlois, under the denomination of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company, and despatched a whaling vessel, the *Compte de Paris*, with thirty men, eleven women, and sixteen children, to Akaroa (Banks' Peninsula, Middle Island), all the emigrants being of the lowest class, with the exception of the agent, M. de Beligny, a botanist and mineralogist, from the *Jardin de Plantes*, of Paris. A few days before the *Compte de Paris* reached her destination, namely, on the 10th of August, 1840, Captain Owen Stanley, in H.M.S.

* Appendix to Report to Commons' Committee on New Zealand, 1840; p. 136.

Britomart, arrived there under orders from Lieutenant-governor Hobson, with two police magistrates, and visited the only two parts of the bay where there were houses. The British flag was hoisted, and a magisterial court held; the same was done at three whaling stations at the south side of the peninsula, and the sovereignty and occupancy of Britain formally proclaimed. On the 15th the frigate *L'Aube*, belonging to the squadron maintained by the French government in the Pacific, for the protection of its whalers and the promotion of national interests, arrived under Captain Lavaud; and on the 16th it was followed by the *Compte de Paris*. Captain Stanley explained to Captain Lavaud the state of affairs, who, on his part, declared that (as the whaler had to proceed to sea) the emigrants should be landed on an unoccupied part of the bay, where he pledged himself, not only that they would do nothing hostile to the British government, but that until fresh instructions should be received from the respective governments of England and France, they should merely build themselves houses for shelter, and clear away what little land they might require for gardens. Six long twenty-four pounders, mounted on field carriages, were on board the *Compte de Paris*, with the agricultural tools, which surprised Captain Lavaud, who positively forbade their being landed. Mr. Robinson remained as an English magistrate at Akaroa, engaged three or four Englishmen as constables, and accepted the French commander's offer of a cabin and seat at his table, so long as *L'Aube* remained at Akaroa.

The validity of the land-purchases of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company were subsequently investigated* by the Land Commissioners, and Governor Hobson was instructed to grant to the French similar terms to those conceded to British companies, namely, a right of selecting an acre of land for every crown (5s.) expended in sending out emigrants, &c., provided that the native titles to the land so selected should be equitably extinguished. The head chiefs, when questioned by Colonel Godfrey and Major Richmond, the commissioners appointed to enquire into the

* August, 1843.

† See Appendix to Select Committee on New Zealand, in 1814: p. 435.

‡ For instance, we find Mr E. G. Wakefield, in vol. i., p. 4, of his *Adventure in New Zealand*, published in London in 1845 referring to the assumed

case, positively denied having sold any land to Captain Langlois in 1838, and no satisfactory testimony was adduced in proof of their having done so, but they admitted having made over to him their interest in certain parts of Banks' Peninsula, when he arrived there in August, 1840, in the *Compte de Paris*, for goods, &c., amounting in value to £234 sterling. Evidence was produced before the court that the engagements of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company to the emigrants sent out by them, had been fulfilled, and likewise that a considerable sum (according to their agent, M. de Belligny, £15,000,) had been expended on roads, bridges, and improvements, in consideration of which, 30,000 acres of land were granted to the company by the British government, although this contract with the Maori chiefs was, according to the strict letter of the law, null and void, having been made subsequently to the proclamation issued by Governor Gipps, in January, 1840, forbidding the acquirement of lands from the natives of New Zealand after that date.

M. de Belligny declared before the commissioners that the French ministry had given "a promise of protection" to the emigrants.† How this vague statement, of which no kind of proof or corroboration was given, could be so construed as to convey the idea of an intention on the part of France to found a "penal settlement" in New Zealand, it is difficult to conjecture. Most assuredly the circumstances above narrated do not afford any sufficient evidence of a project having been entertained so directly in violation of the law and custom observed by civilized nations; yet the New Zealand Company persisted in reiterating this assertion, sometimes on grounds which would have been manifestly absurd, but for the profound ignorance of the public on the facts of the case;‡ taking to themselves the whole merit of having preserved New Zealand to the Crown of England, although well aware that British colonization, and christian civilization, had taken root in the land long before their formation into an associated body. They must, moreover, have been cognizant of the train of circumstances which led to the assumption of direct purchase made by Baron de Thierry at Cambridge, in 1820 (see p. 130), in the following manner:— "This circumstance deserves notice as having laid the foundation of the attempt made by the French government, in 1840, to establish a penal settlement in the Middle Island."

sovereignty in behalf of her Majesty over these islands, totally irrespective of the mission of Colonel Wakefield, at the close of 1839, on a land-jobbing, or to use the words of the directors, an "exclusively commercial" speculation.

GENERAL HISTORY OF NEW ZEALAND RESUMED. — The subsequent history of New Zealand consists chiefly of disputes, more or less fatal in their consequences respecting titles to land; of endeavours, on the part of the Crown to carry out a system in accordance with the principle advocated by the late Dr. Arnold, by which all lands not actually in cultivation were to be considered as vested in the sovereign; and of constant opposition on the part of the Maories, whose construction of the treaty of Waitangi, was considered just by many Europeans (including the three successive governors, the bishop, and chief justice), and who maintained that there were no "waste lands" in the whole territory of the three islands, inasmuch as every acre had its legitimate owner or owners, as the case might be, without whose special consent, no alienation could, according to native custom, take place. Throughout the whole period, a systematic hostility was maintained by the New Zealand Company, to the government (imperial and local), as well as to the natives, in the endeavour to "defend their rights to the valuable property of 20,000,000 square acres,"* and thus the seeds of intestine warfare were sown broad-cast over this unhappy country.

The policy pursued by England towards New Zealand, was shadowed forth in the instructions of the Marquess of Normanby to Captain Hobson, 14th of August, 1839, from which I have previously quoted. In them, it is impressed upon the future governor, that the aborigines—

"Must be carefully defended in the observance of their own customs, so far as these are compatible with the universal maxims of humanity and morals; but the savage practices of human sacrifices and of cannibalism must be promptly and decisively interdicted; such atrocities, under whatever plea of religion they may take place, are not to be tolerated within any part of the dominions of the British crown."†

Captain Hobson enquired how he was to repress "these diabolical acts" by force, after other measures had failed, and what

course was he to adopt to restrain the no less savage native wars, or to protect tribes who are oppressed, &c.? His previous knowledge had taught him, that at least for a few years, until the new comers and the aborigines had amalgamated, and until the peaceful and civilizing influences of the Christian missionaries had time to produce their full fruits, a repressive, if not over-awing, military establishment would be indispensable; and he called the attention of the secretary of state to the following omission in his instructions:—

"No allusion has been made to a military force, nor has any instruction (been) issued for the arming and equipping of militia. The presence of a few soldiers would check any disposition to revolt, and would enable me to forbid, in a firmer tone, those inhuman practices I have been ordered to restrain. The absence of such support, on the other hand, will encourage the disaffected to resist my authority, and *may be the means of entailing on us, eventually, difficulties that I am unwilling to contemplate.*"‡

The reply was to the effect, that if persuasion and kindness could not prevent cannibalism, human sacrifices, and warfare among the native tribes, these abhorrent acts were to be repressed by authority, and if necessary, by actual force, within any part of the Queen's dominions; but no troops were granted to Captain Hobson, who, on the contrary, was informed by Lord Normanby, that it was—

"Impossible, at the present time, to detach any of her Majesty's troops to New Zealand; nor" (his lordship added) "can I foresee any definite period at which it will be practicable to supply that deficiency. It will probably, therefore, be necessary to raise a militia, or to embody an armed police."

At this period, the probability of collision between the English and the Maories was not contemplated by her Majesty's government, who were far from foreseeing the necessity of maintaining a military force in New Zealand, and (as we have seen) had urgently impressed upon Captain Hobson their desire of governing solely by moral influence. The unhappy conflicts occasioned by disputes respecting land, rendered this most desirable object quite impracticable; and, so early as February, 1840, we find Lieutenant-governor Hobson assuring the Marquis of Normanby, that the—

"Conflicting claims for land that will be brought under the consideration of the commissioners who are to be appointed to investigate them, will create a violent ferment through every class of society, both native and European."

* *Vide* Second Report of New Zealand. (15th Sept., 1840.)

† Parliamentary Papers, 8th April, 1840; p. 40.

‡ Letter to Lord Normanby, dated London, August, 1839. Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, page 44.

He adds—

"I know perfectly well, the former will resist the execution of all awards that may be unfavourable to them, and that it will require a strong executive, supported by military force, to carry such decisions into effect."

Owing to the dispersed state of the British population, and the number of points to be guarded, the lieutenant-governor was of opinion that not less than four companies of a regiment, the frequent visits of ships of war, and the assistance of police and militia, would be "sufficient to maintain the dignity of the Crown, and secure the due execution of the laws."*

In May, 1840, a detachment of eighty men arrived from New South Wales; but this soon proved to be a very inadequate force; and in June, 1840, the lieutenant-governor, when informing the governor of New South Wales of a disturbance that had taken place, describes it as illustrating—

"The very frail terms by which peace is maintained with the native population; a mere drunken brawl might have involved us in a war with half the country. The inference to be drawn (he adds) is, that an augmentation of the military force is absolutely necessary: it must never be overlooked, that the *native population are a warlike race*, well armed, and ever ready to use these arms on the slightest provocation."

Lord John Russell, in a despatch of December, 1840, admitted the justice of these remonstrances, but declared himself unable to hold out any expectation of an increased number of troops, at least for the present.

It now becomes necessary to note the preliminary steps taken for the arrangement of claims to land acquired before the date of the treaty of Waitangi. In August, 1840, the Governor and Council of New South Wales, within whose jurisdiction New Zealand had been placed, passed an act under which Commissioners were appointed to inquire strictly into all the circumstances under which land was said to have been purchased by British subjects from New Zealanders. By a provision in this act, 2,560 acres (the maximum grant which the governor of New South Wales was empowered to make prior to the introduction of the system of Australian land-sales, in 1831,) was fixed upon as the largest quantity that any individual could retain, in virtue of cession from the natives. In whom the surplusage of acres (beyond the amount fixed) of any

territory acquired from the natives vested, was not stated, but it was supposed to become the property of the Crown. Legal titles could only be issued by the representative of the Crown, to obtain which it would be necessary to prove that a reasonable consideration had been given to the native proprietors.

The rate of sufficient payments was fixed as follows:—between the years 1815 and 1824, at sixpence per acre; 1825 to 1829, six to eightpence per acre; 1830 to 1834, eightpence to one shilling per acre; 1835 to 1836, one to two shillings per acre; 1837 to 1838, two to four shillings per acre; and in the year 1839, four to eight shillings per acre. During the discussion on this subject in the Legislative Council of New South Wales, a circumstance occurred which, though trifling in itself, appears to have had no inconsiderable share in exciting among the natives a distrustful feeling towards the government. A New Zealander was introduced into the gallery of the council chamber, and there heard Sir George Gipps speak of his countrymen as "poor savages, whom it would be the very height of hypocrisy in her Majesty's government to abstain, or pretend to abstain, for religion's sake, from despoiling of their lands, and yet allow them to be despoiled by individuals being subjects of her Majesty."† His excellency likewise denied the right of the Maories as "independent savages," to dispose of their lands in the manner described by Mr. Wentworth, with reference to his assumed purchase of 20,000,000 acres at the rate of one farthing for every 100 acres; and asserted that of the crown (in virtue of its newly-proclaimed sovereignty,) over the unoccupied lands. The Maori returned to New Zealand, and spread far and wide, statements which, we learn from Mr. Busby, "created the greatest excitement and indignation." A deputation of Christian natives waited on their pastor (Mr. Davis), and asked if it were indeed true, that the British government intended to take possession of their lands? and whether several shiploads of emigrants might be expected? To the *first* inquiry Mr. Davis replied that he believed there was no such intention. To the *second*, he could not but answer in the affirmative; upon which they significantly inquired, "What, then, is to become of us?" Mr.

* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 11th May, 1841: pp. 12, 13.

† See Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 11th May, 1841: p. 78, &c.

Davis endeavoured to quiet their fears, by assuring them they would be protected in their properties; but with many of them this assurance was ineffectual, and he was told in very plain terms, that if they were betrayed, the missionaries and the Resident had been their betrayers, and should be the first objects of their vengeance.

Mr. Busby says:—

"That the sentiment was universal amongst the natives in the Bay of Islands, that if the Queen (according to the enactments of the Land Claims Bill) deprived her own children of their land (which they had bought from the natives), it was only because she was not yet strong enough that she did not interfere with theirs. It, therefore, need excite no surprise that they should consider themselves overreached and betrayed, when that right of pre-emption which they were prevailed upon to yield to the Queen for the benevolent purpose of protecting them from the fraudulent dealings of her subjects, was made the very instrument of realizing their worst fears."

Lord John Russell entertained a different opinion, and from his despatch to Governor Hobson, in December, 1840, (which has been already quoted, p. 144,) it appears that his lordship did not look upon the whole territorial surface of the islands of New Zealand, as vested in the aborigines; but only such lands as they occupied, used, or enjoyed.† His lordship deemed it absolutely necessary that a commissioner should ascertain, and that the law should determine, what lands were private and what *public* property,‡ and that the "demesne of the crown should be clearly separated from the lands of private persons, and from those still retained by the aborigines." The crown lands (when ascertained) were to be surveyed as promptly and accurately as possible, then opened for settlement, and disposed of by public sale at a uniform price. After defraying the expense of the survey, not more than fifty per cent. of the net sale proceeds of each year were to be appropriated to the exigencies of the public service, and for the benefit of the aborigines; the remaining fifty per cent. to be expended in the conveyance of emi-

grants from the United Kingdom to New Zealand. Lord John Russell further determined that,—

"All lands held by private persons, and not actually in cultivation should be subjected to an annual tax, the non-payment of which should be followed by the confiscation and seizure of the land, on the grounds that until this were done there could be 'no reasonable prospect of the colony making any effectual advance in agriculture, wealth, or sound internal polity.'"

The injunctions respecting the immediate subdivision of the surveyed lands, and their accurate mapping, were peremptory; but it would have been very difficult to have carried them fully into effect; if, however, a complete running survey, however rough, had been made immediately after the assumption of sovereignty by Great Britain, many of the disputes which subsequently arose from conflicting land claims, might have been more satisfactorily adjusted.

In a despatch dated the 28th of January, 1841, Lord John Russell again urges on Governor Hobson, that—

"The lands of the aborigines should be defined with all practicable and necessary precision, on the general maps and surveys of the colony," and desires that "tracts of land permanently retained for the use and occupation of the aborigines should be defined by natural and indelible land marks, and should be inalienable even in favour of the local government."

A sum not amounting to less than fifteen or more than twenty per cent. of the purchase-money of all lands bought from the aborigines, was to be expended in "promoting the health, civilization, education, and spiritual care of the natives," on the recommendation of the Protector appointed by the Crown to watch over and superintend their affairs.

From the preceding statements, some notion may be formed of the difficulties which beset Governor Hobson from the commencement of his administration, which were greatly aggravated by the contumacious tone assumed towards him by the Wellington settlers, who criticised and cavilled at his measures, in a similar style to that adopted by the New Zealand

* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 1845; p. 15.

† A shrewd and logical writer has, however, taken a different view of the bearing of this despatch.—*Vide New Zealand Question, and the Rights of the Aborigines*; by Louis Alexis Chamerodow, Secretary to the Aborigines' Society: p. 221, *et sequitur*.

‡ The *New Zealand Association* of 1837 made a marked distinction between "*property in land*," and "*sovereignty as respects government*:" and acknowledged that "property in land, and the sovereign

rights of chiefs, were well established native institutions." [*British Colonization of New Zealand*, pp. 53, 54.] The natives had no idea whatever of the terms "public" and "private" property; they ceded sovereign power to the Queen magisterially, and in agreeing to grant a right of "pre-emption" to the crown, they supposed that they would thus at all times have a purchaser for the waste lands, or such territories as they might be disposed to alienate. It is necessary to keep this point in mind, as it affords a clue to many subsequent difficulties.

Company towards the home government, whom the directors openly accused of being actuated in their proceedings by "*a malicious motive*," a desire to injure the Company, and punish them for their alleged misconduct.* The settlers, however, had soon reason to perceive that they were far more likely to receive protection and assistance from the representatives of the Crown, than from the Company, for (despite the promise given them) but few months after their departure from England, another settlement was planned, whose members, like those of Wellington, were doomed to struggle through long years of suspense, before receiving the "allotments," for which (under any circumstances,) they had given a most exorbitant price.† The following are the chief facts connected with the origin of the

NEW PLYMOUTH SETTLEMENT.—In the month of February, 1840, an association was formed in the west of England, termed the "New Plymouth Company," avowedly in connexion with the New Zealand Company in London, of whom the former was to purchase land, for the purpose of reselling it to capitalists, or leasing it to farmers who might be disposed to emigrate, and found a settlement to be termed the "Plymouth Colony of New Zealand." The directors of the branch Company invested the money of their shareholders by purchasing £10,000 of the stock of the London Company, at par, for which they were to receive a territory comprising 50,000 acres, clear of all streets, public places, roads, and native reserves. The land was to be specially selected by the surveyor of the Plymouth Company from such part of the Company's possessions as might hold out the best prospects for the commercial and general prosperity of the settlement. The town of New Plymouth, by the original plan, was to consist of 550 acres, *exclusive of all streets and public places*; to be divided into 2,200 town sections of a quarter of an acre, which were to be sold at £10 each; 200 sections to be reserved for gratuitous distribution among the native families dwell-

ling near the settlement. A belt of land round the town, containing 10,450 acres, exclusive of roads, was to be divided into 209 *suburban* sections of fifty acres each, nineteen of which were likewise to be reserved for the natives. The land outside this suburban belt was to comprise 57,500 acres, to be divided into rural sections of fifty acres each, and leased or sold.

Applicants for twenty-one years' lease, of one or more of the 50 acre rural sections, were to deposit a sum of money in London, to be returned to them in the colony, for investment in fencing and farming the land so leased; the rent of which was to be 3s. per acre for the first seven years; 4s. for the next seven years, and 6s. for the residue of the term. The Company were to advance money at the rate of ten per cent. interest to the lessee, on the security of the stock; and during the currency of this lease, he was to be at liberty to purchase the freehold of his farm, at the price of £3 per acre during the first seven years, and £5 per acre during the remainder of the term.‡

Before the land was selected in New Zealand for the new township, and on the strength of the assumed *twenty million acre* purchases of Colonel Wakefield, the allotments were put up for sale in England. The following is an illustration of the mode in which the sales were managed. At the drawing of the *lottery* for priority of selection of the New Plymouth suburban sections of fifty acres each, the secretary and managing-director drew the first lot, and the next thirty fell by chance (?) in the following manner; eighteen to the Company; one to the "native reserves;" two to directors; one to auditor; two to Company's agent; one to colonial surgeon, and two to friends of the directors.

Thus, in fact, until the thirty-one best selections were made, the *public* purchasers were not, under this pretended lottery, permitted a choice. The number of allotments were, in all, 209; of these, 113 were drawn for the Company, probably to be resold as in other cases at an advanced price.

* See Mr. Gibbon Wakefield's Evidence before Select Committee, July, 1840, p. 17.

† Governor Grey, in a despatch dated New Plymouth, 2nd March, 1847, when referring to the still unsettled state of the alleged land purchases of the New Zealand Company from the natives, says—"I found the settlers in a state of great distress; many of them who had brought large capitals with them from England, have now expended the whole of their money, waiting in the vain expectation that they

would at last be permitted to occupy their land, and living from year to year upon that capital which was intended to render their land productive, and which, having been now all wasted, will render their land comparatively valueless, when it is obtained for them."—Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, Dec. 1847; p. 3.

‡ The Company afterwards refused to carry out these arrangements, which caused much disappointment.

In August, 1840, Mr. F. A. Carrington, a gentleman, whose maps and labours, while engaged in the Ordnance department (England), had established his character as a surveyor, was sent out to fix the site of New Plymouth. He examined the entire coast-line of the country between Capes Farewell and Campbell, (including the tract where the Nelson Settlement was afterwards placed,) but considered it unsuitable from the barren character of the land, and finally selected a portion of the district about Taranaki (Mount Egmont,) and the Waitera, on the west and south-west part of the Northern Island, as best adapted for an agricultural settlement. His choice was approved by Colonel Wakefield, who alleged that he had bought the whole district in October, 1839.

That the reader may understand the leading cause of the difficulties and disagreements which took place between the natives and the settlers, occasioning to both parties, especially the latter, severe and prolonged distress, it becomes necessary to explain, as clearly as may be, the peculiar circumstances under which the assumed purchase was made. Some five years before the arrival of the agent of the New Zealand Company, a powerful tribe, termed "Waikato," under their chief, Te Whero-where, conquered the aborigines of the Taranaki district (the Ngatiawa tribe) and expelled them from their rightful territory. Those who were taken prisoners were carried away as captives; some fled towards the country bordering either side of Cook's Straits; others took refuge in the mountains of Cape Egmont, or on the Sugar-loaf islands off the coast. It was from some of these latter that Colonel Wakefield professed to have bought the land in question,* in the manner thus described by a well-informed, and always truthful writer,†—

"Messrs. Wakefield and Dorset went in a vessel to the roadstead, and landed an illiterate whaling master (R. Barrett), who had a mere smattering of the native language, to negotiate the purchase of the whole adjoining district. With about forty men, women, and children an arrangement was made, and goods were given to them in exchange for the whole district—as the Company's agents said—but in exchange for those natives' lands, or parts of them only, in the nearest district alone—as the natives understood. The interpreter was incapable of explaining correctly what the natives meant."

Thus the New Zealand Company—

"Endeavoured to buy a tract of land from a few

* Parliamentary Papers, 12th Aug. 1842; p. 188.

† Remarks on New Zealand, pp. 29—31.

persons who owned about a thirtieth part of it, the great majority of the proprietors being then absent;" (they were, in fact, kept as prisoners of war by the Waikato tribe, who some years afterwards, at the instance of Christian missionaries, granted the captives permission to return to their own land, which, to their surprise and displeasure, they found occupied by Europeans.)

Such is Captain Fitz-Roy's view of this transaction;—Mr. Carrington's evidence before the House of Commons' committee, in 1844, places it in a far more unfavourable light, and leads to the conclusion that Colonel Wakefield's proceedings were dictated by a spirit of expediency (falsely so called), rather than honesty. For instance, Mr. Carrington produced a letter received by Richard Barrett from Colonel Wakefield, and dated "East Bay, Queen Charlotte's Sound, November 8th, 1839," from which the following paragraphs are quoted as sufficiently showing the object of the writer,—

"Sir,—I have to inform you that *I have purchased* for the New Zealand Company, from the chiefs of the Kafia and Ngatiawa tribes, *the whole of their possessions, rights and claims, on both sides of Cook's Straits*, between the thirty-eighth and forty-third degrees of south latitude, *an ample consideration having been paid for the same*. All the chiefs, including those of the small tribes, forming part of the Ngatiawas, having executed deeds of conveyance to the Company, and fully understanding that they are not to resell any portion of land or timber within those boundaries. I beg that you will make the sale known to European settlers in the Sound and its neighbourhood, in order that they may avoid the useless trouble and expense, and the collision with the Company, which will be caused by their making any purchases in these districts from *this day's date*. (Signed.) W. WAKEFIELD."

At this time, according to Mr. Carrington, "*no proceedings had been taken towards the purchase which is stated in that letter to have been completed*;"—and this assertion is, to a great extent, confirmed by the fact that *nineteen days after* the date of the letter in question; namely, on the 28th of November, we find it stated in Colonel Wakefield's journal, that he landed Richard Barrett at Taranaki on that day, with instructions—

"To assemble the numerous chiefs resident on a coast line of 150 miles, in a month's time, when I am to return to make the payment for the different districts, and receive the written assent of the chiefs to the sale; . . . I have every hope that on my return here, the *completion of the bargain* (between the many conflicting interests and divisions of the occupants) will be effected."†

A further corroboration of Mr. Carrington's statement is given in the twelfth Report of the New Zealand Company, p. 131, F.

ington's assertion is, that in the *Adventure in New Zealand*, by E. J. Wakefield (vol. i., pp. 180—183), the nominal purchase of a considerable portion of this very district, is stated to have been made on the 15th of February, 1840. These and other circumstances (the opinion of Captain Fitz-Roy, Mr. Clarke, and others), seem to justify Mr. Carrington in declaring that "the report of Colonel Wakefield as to the purchase was not only false, as regards the time of the negotiation, but also false as regards the extent of territory acquired."*

In February, 1841, the surveys were commenced, notwithstanding the opposition of the natives, who, putting their arms round the trees, declared that they should not be cut down, neither should stakes be driven into their land; they performed their war dance naked, as is their custom when proceeding to conflict; and on several occasions brought their tomahawks hard down on the head of Mr. Carrington, with repeated threats, but he so far prevailed by patience and good humour, as to be suffered to proceed with the survey, on the faith of his promise, that their land should be paid for when the white people came to settle on it.

In the following month the first detachment of emigrants, called the *pioneer expedition* (144 in number) arrived at Taranaki, or, as we must now call it, *New Plymouth*, and were joined by the main body of settlers on the 3rd of September, 1841. Lots for the order of choice for *rural lands* were then drawn; but notwithstanding the much-vaunted promise of "a tenth" of their land being in every case reserved for

the natives, as some compensation for the almost nominal price† for which they were supposed to have sold the entire territory; no such reservation appears to have been intended in this instance, as (according to the testimony of the surveyor of the settlement,) no lots were drawn on their behalf. Another selection of rural lands was made in June, 1842; but again no sections were set aside for the natives, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mr. Carrington, who urged upon the representatives of the Company, the agents, and the (so-called) land-owners, that unless some spots were left for them (the natives) on the rivers Waitera and Waiongona, the settlers would not be suffered to occupy their allotments. The justice of this unheeded warning was evidenced when too late, by the fact, that many of those to whom it was addressed, never received the lands, which though not rightfully purchased, *they* had, nevertheless, dearly paid for; while others were obliged to resign their original selections on the before-named rivers, and take, instead, any they could procure within the block around the town; which itself was so disproportionately large, that "the building allotments" were frequently converted into arable land.

Meanwhile, the New Zealand Company having pursued, from the first, a course of illegal and unjustifiable proceedings, as well as of lavish and wasteful expenditure of money entrusted to them by individuals for a special purpose, found it necessary to alter for a time the contumelious and defiant tone‡ they had hitherto maintained

* *Vide* Letter to Viscount Howick, 1844.

† Mr. Wakefield alleged before the Parliamentary Committee of 1840, that the native reserves constituted the principal value of the sale made by the aborigines, and gave in an estimate of the value of 110 reserves, comprising 10,100 acres out of 110,000, in the Wellington district. By this estimate, one was worth £1,000; four averaged £800 each; four, £600; three, £500; three, £400; five, £300; thirteen, £250; five, £200; three, £180; three, £150; three, £140; seven, £130, and the remainder were stated at different lesser values; in all, amounting to £33,390. This witness added, "the lots drawn for the natives happened to be very good ones, and the consequence is, that the sections reserved for them have already acquired a very high value."

The evidence of Mr. Campbell, the government surveyor, is in direct contradiction to this assertion. He states that, with few exceptions, the native reserves (at Port Nicholson) have been selected in spots so distant from the *pahs*, and where the ground is so hilly as to render them almost useless to the natives for the purposes of cultivation."

Mr. Commissioner Spain quotes the above paragraph, in a report addressed to the local government of New Zealand, and declares that he "fully coincides in his (Mr. Campbell's) opinion.—Appendix to Report of Select Committee of 1844, p. 294.

Another authority on this subject corroborates Mr. Campbell's account, by describing some of the "native reserves" at Wellington, as having been adroitly marked down among the native *pahs*, which had never been alienated, or in spots already inhabited by, and belonging to resident natives, to which the New Zealand Company had not a shadow of right; and the majority of the "reserves" were so "partially" selected, as to render them unfit for cultivation, and ineligible for leasing." The total inadequacy of these much vaunted reserves for the subsistence, or for the amelioration of the moral or physical condition of the Maories, is sufficiently evidenced in the fact, that up to 1843, the trustees of the native reserves were unable to raise sufficient means to procure medical comforts for the sick.—Letter from the Protector of the Aborigines, 26th October, 1843.

‡ Mr. W. Hutt M.P., a director of the New

towards her Majesty's government, and direct all their efforts to the obtainment of a charter of incorporation, which should not only limit the liability of the shareholders to the amount of the capital respectively subscribed by them, but should also protect them from actions at common law, which might be brought against each proprietor by those who had paid money for land which they had never received, and had, in fact, been deprived of their property under false pretences. The urgency of the case would neither admit of delay in time, nor of hesitation as to the expenditure of money for the desired object. The support of several members of the legislature was procured; the services of some (in their legal capacity,) were obtained by retaining fees and other means available to a public Company, influential from the station of its directors (very few of whom, however, appear to have been really conversant with its affairs, or to have taken any active share in their management,) and rich so long as the public should continue credulous. Among other measures, the press, or at least a portion of it, was actively employed.

An arrangement was at length effected, one inducement to which, on the part of the government, was unquestionably a desire to enable the Company to relieve the Wellington settlers from the distressing position into which they had been inveigled.

On the 18th November, 1840, a statement of the terms on which a royal charter of incorporation would be granted, was transmitted to the New Zealand Company, by order of Lord John Russell, who, *pre-mising*, on the faith of the assurances given by the Company, that *an equitable purchase of several million acres of land had actually been made, of which the Maori titles were completely extinguished*, proposed, that an estimate should be made of the money disbursed by them for the purchase of land, the conveyance of emigrants, for surveys,

Zealand Company, and a member of the select committee of the House of Commons appointed in 1840 to enquire into the affairs of New Zealand, in reply to a question (No. 1,065,) addressed to him by the Chairman, on the 24th of July, stated that "the Company is disposed to question the proceedings of the government." He then read a series of hostile resolutions passed by the Directors of the New Zealand Company, on that morning, wherein the proclamation in the name of the crown respecting land (p. 140), issued on the assumption of British sovereignty, was declared an "unparalleled interference with private rights;" and a mode of procedure "so contrary to international law, and so

road-making, the erection of public buildings, and other incidental expenses. When the outlay of the Company should have been ascertained, a grant of land was to be made them from the crown, in the ratio of one acre for every five shillings reasonably expended by them for the above-named purposes. It was expressly stated, that the lands to be assigned to the Company were to—

"Be taken by them in that part of the colony of New Zealand at which their settlement has been formed, and to which they have laid claim, in virtue of contracts made by them with the natives or others, antecedently to the arrival of Captain Hobson, as her Majesty's lieutenant-governor at New Zealand," and should "comprise all tracts to which any persons have derived titles through them (the Company), provided that such tracts be situated at or in the neighbourhood of Port Nicholson, or at or in the neighbourhood of New Plymouth, and also provided that such tracts shall not collectively amount to more than 160,000 acres, and provided further, that no such tracts shall be such as, regard being had to the general interests of the colonists at large, ought to be reserved and appropriated for any purposes of public utility, convenience, or recreation. With the exception of the before-mentioned tracts, the land to be selected by the Company as aforesaid, shall be taken by them in one or more blocks. Of such blocks, any number not exceeding six, may be of the size of not less than 5,000 acres each, and the rest of a size of not less than 30,000 acres each. Every such block to be, as nearly as possible, a solid parallelogram, bounded by the natural land-marks of the country."

The Company, on their part, were—

"to forego and disclaim all title, or pretence of title to any lands purchased or acquired by them in New Zealand, other than the lands so to be granted to them as aforesaid."

Of the other terms upon which her Majesty's government proposed to grant a charter to the New Zealand Company, the following clauses are necessary to be borne in mind, as materially affecting the interests of a large portion of the British and Maori population of the Wellington and New Plymouth settlements:—

"The Company having sold, or contracted to sell, lands to various persons, her Majesty's government disclaim all liability for making good any such sales utterly repugnant to justice, as to require that this Company should employ every legitimate means of resistance to the enactments of government taking effect." Another resolution intimated that measures would probably be adopted to prevent the Maori chiefs "on the Company's territory" from acknowledging the sovereignty of the Queen of England. According to a statement made by Mr. Williams (Church missionary) to Captain Hobson, by whom he was sent to Port Nicholson, to obtain signatures to the treaty of Waitangi; the attempt *was made*, and Mr. Williams was "not able to obtain the signatures required at Wellington, owing to the opposition of Colonel Wakefield and others to the treaty."

or contract; it being nevertheless understood that the Company will, from the lands to be granted to them as aforesaid, fulfil and carry into effect all such their sales and contracts. It being also understood that the Company had entered into engagements for the reservation of certain lands, for the benefit of the natives, it is agreed, that, in respect of all the lands so to be granted to them as aforesaid, reservations of such lands shall be made for the benefit of the natives by her Majesty's government, in fulfilment of, and according to the tenor of such stipulations."

With regard to the incorporation of the Company, it was proposed that the charter should be granted for the term of forty years, but should contain provisions for its resumption by the Crown, and for the "purchase of the lands and other property of the Company, on just and equitable terms, if the public interest (meanwhile) should require such a resumption and purchase."

From the foregoing abstract of the proposed arrangement, it must be evident that Lord John Russell's offer was simply that of granting to the Company a charter of incorporation on certain conditions, and of legalizing, by titles from the Crown, the claims of the Company to a portion of the land to which they, on their showing, were presumed to have *fairly and fully* extinguished the native title.

Considering their previous unjustifiable proceedings, these terms were more favourable than any they could reasonably have anticipated; and, in the reply of the governor (Mr. Somes), on the following day, (19th November, 1840), the above propositions are described as framed on "liberal and judicious principles," and declared to be such as the Company had "no hesitation in accepting."

In acknowledging this acceptance of his offer, Lord John Russell (through Mr. Vernon Smith) apprized the Company of the intention of government to apply to all other British subjects the same rule to which they (the Company) would be subjected in respect to their land claims, viz.—that all claimants should, after due investigation by a special commission, have the titles to land granted them "by the chiefs of those islands, according to the custom of the country, and *in return for some adequate consideration*," confirmed by the Crown, in the ratio of one acre for every five shillings invested. "This

advantage, however," it is added, "will be offered only to those whose lands were acquired before the 5th January, 1840, the date of the proclamation issued by Sir G. Gipps on the subject.*

The charter was granted on the 12th of February, 1841. By its provisions the subscribed capital of the Company, was fixed at £300,000 in shares of £25 each, of which two-thirds were to be paid up within twelve months; with power to increase it to £1,000,000, and also to borrow on mortgage to the extent of £500,000.

No lands could in future be purchased by the Company from natives, but on any purchase from her Majesty's government to the extent of 50,000 acres, paid for in ready money, ten per cent was to be remitted as discount,† together with an allowance for surveys. All crown lands in New Zealand in future to be sold at 20s. per acre. The clause to limit the duration of the charter to forty years, and to give the Crown within that period a power of resumption, and the right of purchasing the lands and other property of the Company, was objected to, and not inserted in the charter.

Mr. Heale, in commenting upon this charter, declares, not without some reason, that it contains "no troublesome clauses to bind the Company—no restrictions as to the price at which they were to sell,—no fixed portion of the proceeds allotted to emigration, not a shadow of control reserved to the government."‡

Mr. James Pennington, an accountant, to whom a statement of the disbursements made by the New Zealand Company was submitted, gave it as his opinion that the expenditure of the Company on which its right to receive land might be immediately admitted, was £60,000 + £101,560 = £161,560; but considered that a decision with regard to the further sum of £87,696, likewise asserted to have been expended in the manner stipulated, was a subject for future inquiry and consideration. By the result of this investigation, the Company became immediately entitled to receive (*out of their purchases from the natives in 1839*) a crown title to 646,240 acres, and in the event of the latter sum being found to have been duly invested, to

* Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, 11th May, 1841, pp. 85—96.

† The rate of discount was afterwards changed, at the solicitation of the Company, to twenty per cent. for the first two years from the date of the agree-

ment, and fifteen per cent. at the expiration of that period.—Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, 1841.

‡ *New Zealand, and the New Zealand Company*. London: 1842; Preface, p. 7.

an additional extent of 350,784 acres. The grounds on which Mr. Pennington founded an award so favourable to the Company, (provided the native title to even a very limited portion of their twenty million acres *should have been extinguished*) are by no means satisfactorily stated. Lord John, in proposing the arrangement, had expressly stipulated that an estimate of the outlay of the Company, under distinct heads, should be made, in which estimate "no item shall be admitted which shall not be found to have been just and moderate in amount, and fairly demanded by the exigencies of the service to be performed."* It is much to be regretted that this stipulation was not rigidly enforced, and still more, that a clear exposition of the affairs of the Company had not been made a preliminary condition to the grant of the charter; for a due regard to the interests of the public demanded that before important concessions were made by the minister of the Crown on their behalf, it should have been distinctly understood what services the Company had rendered, or were likely to render, to entitle them to such consideration, and especially, whether their dealings with the public had been characterised by good faith and discretion. To this end it should have been shewn how much of their own capital the Company had invested,—what they had actually paid the natives, and how much they had expended of the money placed in their hands by various persons, *in trust*, for the purchase of land, and other specific purposes, and in what manner. An account should likewise have been given of the sums which had been paid to different individuals for rights and privileges, real or assumed;† of the payments, salaries, and expenses (reported to have been most unreasonable), which had been allowed to the promoters and agents of the Company, both in London and the colony; what moneys had been paid, and under what contracts, to Mr. Somes (the governor),‡ and others. On

* Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, November, 1840.

† The large sum of £45,000 appears to have been paid to a few members of the New Zealand Company of 1839–40, for the pretended rights and privileges of the inchoate New Zealand Company of 1825, and the New Zealand Association of 1837, whose members had repeatedly declared, that their efforts were purely patriotic, and had no connection with joint-stock speculations. By a remarkable coincidence, however, the same names are prominent in the proceedings of 1825, of 1837, and of 1839–40.

‡ The *Times* of 28th January, 1851, alludes to the

all these points the government had unquestionably a right to demand, and record for the benefit of the public, full information; in place of which, we have a jumbled statement of £161,560, and £87,696 = £259,256 expended by the Company, who claimed in their own right a proportionate award of land without reference to the settlers, to whom by far the greater part of the money rightfully belonged, having been entrusted by them to the directors, upon certain conditions, most of which remain to the present moment unfulfilled. Between the Company and its land-purchasers, *the government*, it should be remembered, could have no right to interfere, and in enabling the Company to fulfil their promises, (provided their repeated assertions respecting the equity of their extensive territorial purchases should prove correct), her Majesty's ministers had really done more than could have been expected, under all the circumstances of the case. We find even the deluded Wellington settlers eventually acknowledging this, and ascribing to the unjust and ill-advised proceedings of those in whom they had placed implicit confidence, the sole blame for their failure.

The Company had received from them (in all), £128,040, of this large sum £25 per cent, or £32,010 was to be retained for the profit, and to meet the expenses of the management: the remaining £75 per cent = £96,030 was to be held *in trust* by the Company, and to be appropriated towards emigration, and for the benefit of the land-purchasers, who aver, that although the Company, "as trustees, had no right to derive any profit from such expenditure;" yet that on account of having disbursed this £96,030 trust-money, the Company obtained from the Crown "384,120 acres, of which they allotted to them (the Wellington settlers) only 127,790 acres, and appropriated the other 256,330 acres to their own use and benefit," in addition to 128,040 "enormous difference" in the rates paid by the New Zealand Company, from the years 1839 to 1844, inclusive, for the conveyance of emigrants, compared with those paid by her Majesty's government for a series of years, and by the Canterbury Association in 1850. It is to be hoped that parliament will direct a searching investigation to be made into the manner in which the New Zealand Company have expended nearly one million of money, of which a large portion has been contributed from the taxes levied on the people of England. In every quarter, the question is put—"What has become of the money?"

acres awarded them on account of the 25 per cent = £32,010, retained according to the agreement for their profit and expenses.

In addressing the directors, the "purchasers of land in the first and principal settlement," state their case simply and forcibly :—

"If you lay claim to these 256,330 acres, what becomes of the stipulation that the Company shall only retain twenty-five per cent. for its own profit? If, for example, you receive from government 400,000 acres for the first £100,000 paid by purchasers, and only allot them 100,000 acres, keeping for yourselves the other 300,000 acres, do you not, instead of twenty-five per cent., reserve for the Company seventy-five per cent.? Is there not here a most gross breach of a most clear and explicit agreement?"

"We will suppose, however, for the sake of argument, that you were not clothed with the character of trustees, and that you never stipulated that you should retain for your own use *only* twenty-five per cent., still we must ask—have you any claims superior or equal to ours, to appropriate to yourselves all the advantages conferred by Lord John Russell's agreement? Can you show any peculiar merit which would entitle the Company to keep to itself the territories thus awarded? You cannot deny that the lands in question (256,330 acres) have been acquired *by means of the expenditure of funds which we furnished*. You cannot pretend to have incurred any personal risks. You have admitted, that whatever value the lands to which you have become entitled possess, is derived from our sacrifices. You can, in short, urge, in regard to these lands, no other merit than that of having expended our money; and for this you have been paid a commission fixed by yourselves—a commission which must be deemed most ample. For instance, you have received, for expending the first £75,000 paid by us, £25,000, which entitled you to 100,000 acres. You have, in fact, been awarded 100,000 acres of land, for the trouble of expending £75,000, received from the first purchasers. And yet you are not satisfied! but are *endeavouring to appropriate to your own use the lands acquired by our funds—purchased by our sufferings—we might almost say, by the blood of our fellow-settlers.*"*

On these and other grounds set forth, the settlers at Wellington tell the directors of the New Zealand Company,—“You trample upon the rights of all whom you believe to be too poor—too distant, and too unprotected to resist your injustice.”

It was not, however, until some years after the grant of the charter in 1841, that

* Memorial to the Directors of the New Zealand Company, from the land-purchasers at Port Nicholson; pp. 43, 44.

† The relative advantages or disadvantages of Auckland and Wellington for the capital of New Zealand, are fully and ably set forth in a letter to Lord Stanley, dated 20th September, 1841, (*vide* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 1842, pp. 68—72) from Roy and Co., solicitors, London, on

the deluded “land-purchasers,” convinced that there was nothing to be gained by continuing to pursue, towards the directors, the conciliatory policy they had long maintained without advantage, poured upon them the full tide of their wrath. In the interim, they vented their complaints on the local authorities, uniting their efforts with those of the New Zealand Company in endeavouring to procure the removal of the seat of government from Auckland to Wellington,† it being rightly foreseen, that such a measure could alone prevent the latter from becoming (as it was for several years) a complete failure. To this end, not only were the most exaggerated descriptions of the advantages of the latter, and the disadvantages of the former, put forth in every possible way, but the colonial servants of the Crown, from the highest to the lowest, were stigmatized as “land-jobbers,” “grasping menials,” “incapable,” “tyrannical,” and “corrupt.” Governor Hobson came in for the largest share of vituperation, on account of the straightforward honesty with which he endeavoured to place before the home government the real facts of the case. The following extract from his despatch of 10th November, 1840, is important in many respects, and may serve as an illustration of the “plain-speaking” which rendered this good and public-spirited governor so thoroughly unpopular and “impracticable” in the eyes of those whose manœuvres he fearlessly exposed :—

“The industry with which the New Zealand Company have circulated throughout the United Kingdom, by means of the press, most exaggerated descriptions of the land at Port Nicholson, and very incorrect statements of the extent of country at their disposal, has had the effect of deluding the people of England into a belief that the nature of the soil, and the facilities for cultivation throughout that district, present advantages which are nowhere else to be found; that their title to the land is undisputed, and that the port is the finest in the colony; all which reports are, in my opinion, unsupported by fact.

“The utmost quantity of land available for cultivation is 25,000 acres, and this is to be found in detached spots, and in situations difficult of approach, and all heavily timbered.

“The title of the Company to the land they have on behalf of several settlers in Auckland, and persons possessing property in its neighbourhood, who are not named, but among whose number may be included an association called the Manukau Company, who, through their agent, Captain Symonds, laid claim to a considerable tract of country in the vicinity of Auckland, of which, however, only a small portion was eventually confirmed to them by the grant of a crown title.

resold is at least questionable: it is disputed by the natives, by the Church Missionary Society, who have bought extensive tracts of the land claimed by the Company, in trust for the natives, and by many British subjects, on the grounds of priority of purchase. The port is certainly most spacious, and is free from danger within its heads; but its very great extent, and the tremendous violence of the prevailing winds, generate so heavy a sea within itself, as to suspend, for many days together, all operations connected with the shipping.*

The justice of the opinions expressed by Governor Hobson, respecting the utter unfitness of Wellington for the capital of New Zealand, received full confirmation from his successor, Captain Fitz-Roy, who, on occasion of visiting Wellington, in 1844, declared that—

"Words could not express the surprise and disappointment with which Port Nicholson and the town of Wellington were seen for the first time. The port is too large to be sheltered, even from prevailing winds; and it has a long, narrow entrance from the open sea, between threatening and really dangerous rocks, making it almost a blind harbour. It is nearly surrounded by high hills covered with forests, and appears to have but little level, cultivable land in its immediate neighbourhood. The stormy climate, the straggling, exposed, and indefensible nature of the town, and the depressing prospect for the future in such a locality, during at least the present generation, might well cause sorrow that such a situation should have been chosen."

When it became evident that neither cajolery nor specious reasoning could tempt or mislead Captain Hobson into sacrificing the interests of the colony at large, to those of the Company and its settlers, a series of petty persecutions was commenced, sufficient to have harassed a far less sensitive mind, and worn out a far stronger frame, than those of the unfortunate governor. Public meetings were held at Port Nicholson, and resolutions adopted to petition her Majesty for his recall, on the ground of partizanship and neglect of public duty; the only specific charge against him, beside the great one of not deeming Port Nicholson a fit site for the capital, being, that he had "seduced" four pair of sawyers, four earpen-

* On the 19th April, 1841, Lord John Russell communicated the despatch of Governor Hobson on Port Nicholson to the directors of the New Zealand Company, "in order that they might inform the public" of the unfavourable view taken by him of the position and capabilities of Wellington. This suggestion, it is almost needless to say, was not adopted; the policy invariably pursued by the Company being, to let nothing meet the public eye calculated to impede their land sales. Even their own agents complain of the unfair use made of their reports, only such portions being put forward as served the immediate interests of the directors; the remainder, however important, being suppressed.

ters, two masons, and five labourers, required for the construction of public buildings at Auckland, to migrate thither from Wellington, where there was a redundancy of labour, and where the agent of the New Zealand Company ultimately obliged the unemployed, skilled, and unskilled labourers to become "squatters," in order to relieve the Company from the expense of their support.† But the pretext was a plausible one in the sight of the English public, who were ignorant that in consequence of the proceedings of the Company, the settlers, however enterprising, could employ but little labour, having spent the best part of their capital, without acquiring land upon which to employ the remainder.

This petition produced from the British colonists in the northern portion of the island one to an opposite effect, applauding the measures adopted by Captain Hobson, and praying her Majesty to retain his services. In commenting on these petitions, in a despatch dated 26th May, 1841, Captain Hobson says—

"It is quite evident, notwithstanding the extraneous matter introduced into the Port Nicholson petition, that the whole matter resolves itself into the simple fact, that I have not studied the exclusive advantage of the Company, by fixing the seat of government at Port Nicholson; and it is equally certain, that the counter-petition must be attributed to my having chosen my position on the Waitemata."

He adds—

"Had I been base enough to prefer my own comfort to what I believed to be the public benefit, I could have established myself at Port Nicholson, where, surrounded by a compact society, all personally identified with the place, I might have left it to the Company's agents, or their press, to answer any censure which might flow in upon me from other quarters. Or had I been still more base, and kept in view my pecuniary advantage, there could have been no scheme devised better calculated to ensure my own fortune and that of my friends, than presented itself at Port Nicholson; it needed but to have speculated largely in the Company's shares, and having raised their value by the location of government, to have sold off my interest whilst they preserved their artificial value.

Dr. Dieffenbach, in a letter to Governor Hobson, dated 17th February, 1841, states, that the New Zealand Company "*did not* faithfully report his researches, and only those parts which suited the purposes of the Company were published." (Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 12th August, 1842, p. 89.) Mr. Carrington, the head surveyor of New Plymouth, makes a similar complaint in his letter to Viscount Howick, and declares, specifically, that some of the statements put forth in the Company's fifth report, "were not true, and had cruelly deceived the public." (Page 89.)

† Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 12th August, 1842; pp. 29, 30, and 155.

"But, my lord, I claim no merit for resisting these temptations; for had I yielded to them, the moral debasement would have sunk me to the grave.

"In my public capacity, I came to this country without bias to any interest whatsoever; I judged from what I saw, and what I learned from authentic sources, from which I formed a strong conviction that this portion of the country united in itself the numerous qualities requisite for the seat of government of this promising colony; and I therefore chose this situation."

There are other portions of this despatch which shew that Captain Hobson, notwithstanding the vexatious and offensive opposition which the Port Nicholson settlers had maintained towards him, appreciated their energy; considered them "a valuable class of colonists;" was earnestly desirous "to disabuse their minds of the evil prepossessions instilled into them by the Company's agents and their press;" and was at that time anxiously deliberating on the steps most likely to obviate their difficulties. To this end he proposed, for the benefit of the settlers at Wellington, and other places at a distance from the seat of government at Auckland, the institution of general, quarter, and petty sessions of the peace, very nearly assimilating to those held in England: to bring home justice to settlers in remote (chiefly whaling) stations, a magistrate was to be appointed for the purpose of occasionally visiting such places, and holding petty sessions on the spot. To these measures was to be added the establishment of courts of requests, for the recovery of debts of small amount. The governor further declared that it would hereafter become necessary to hold circuit courts for the trial of capital offences and issues in civil actions; and proposed to grant to the settlers of Port Nicholson or of any other town where the inhabitants might be sufficiently numerous to carry out the details, and afford the expense of managing their own affairs, charters of incorporation; with power to elect their own civic officers, and confer on them the authority generally vested in English corporate bodies, so as to afford the colonists much local control, and relieve the government "from the enormous expense attendant on the establishment of new towns."*

This valuable despatch† likewise contains some excellent remarks on the state of the

* These propositions received the approval of Lord Stanley on the 24th of January, 1842, and were afterwards embodied in Ordinances.

† Despatch of Governor Hobson to her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, 26th of May, 1841.

colony, calculated to convey a clear, and (according to the testimony of a very high authority on this matter),‡ a correct idea of the general condition of affairs in New Zealand at this period. Of these the most interesting are the following:—

"Those persons who have settled at Port Nicholson under the auspices of the Company are, from their rank, their numbers, and their wealth, by far the most important in the colony. But it is to be regretted that, from the impunity with which they have heretofore, in defiance of the government, encroached on the land, they assume a tone of dictation and authority, which is totally subversive of all government, and which must eventually be overcome, or the sole management of the affairs of the island must be surrendered into their hands.

"On a recent occasion Sir George Gipps gave them the permissive occupation of 110,000 acres around Port Nicholson, on condition of their confining themselves to that limit, with a promise to recommend to your lordship to obtain from them from her Majesty a free grant to that extent, in return for the expense the Company had incurred in importing immigrants to the colony. But almost coincident with that act of grace, they spread themselves over the lands of Wanganui, to a distance of ninety miles, in direct opposition to a notice simultaneously published both by Sir George Gipps and myself, respectively.

"To this encroachment they have since added the lands of Terranake (Taranaki), which they have assigned to the Plymouth Company; and there is great reason to apprehend that none of this vast territory has been legally purchased from the aborigines. But this is a question I will not prejudice.

"I design shortly to visit Port Nicholson, when I will require the agents of the Company to submit their claims for examination to the land commissioners.

"The natives in the neighbourhood of these new settlements have evinced considerable dissatisfaction at the occupation of lands, to which they lay claim; and more than one tribe has called on me to remove the intruders, threatening to dislodge them by force, if I do not afford redress. I hope, when I visit them, to reconcile these differences, and if necessary, to require a further payment to be made to satisfy their claims.

"Besides the natives, there are many Europeans who claim large portions of these lands in virtue of prior purchases; but these latter will furnish cases for the land commissioners to decide."

To maintain anything approaching to chronological order in narrating the leading events in the history of New Zealand, it is necessary very frequently to change alike the immediate subject and scene of action. We must now return to the proceedings of the directors of the New Zealand Company. The money received by them for land in the Taranaki district (New Plymouth),

‡ Captain Fitz-Roy, in his *Remarks on New Zealand*, says, "his (Governor Hobson's) representations of the real state of the country, true to the letter, were slighted, and his opinions, now proved sound were bitterly assailed."—(p. 14).

being soon swallowed up by their expensive establishments at home, abroad, and their various disbursements (including a dividend to the shareholders of ten per cent.), they resorted to their old expedient for procuring a fresh supply, by the formation of another settlement. The following narrative of the most important circumstances connected with the establishment of Nelson was drawn up by Mr. Tuckett,* who received the appointment of chief surveyor to the new settlement, and was sent out in charge of one of the vessels of the pioneer expedition. That he proved fully equal to his position is attested by the unqualified approval of his proceedings pronounced by the directors. Mr. T. C. Harington, the secretary of the Company, in forwarding to Colonel Wakefield the copy of a resolution passed by the committee of management, and confirmed by the court of directors, says,—

"The attention of the Directors has been drawn to the numerous occasions on which the agent at Nelson has found occasion to bring under notice the very zealous and satisfactory manner in which Mr. Frederick Tuckett, the chief surveyor under his orders, has performed his duties, and the unusual

* While engaged in collecting materials for the present volume, I sought to obtain information from men of character and standing, who had been actors in, or eye-witnesses of the transactions in New Zealand, which I desired truthfully to record. Among others, I sought to benefit by the experience of Mr. Tuckett, because in his public capacity he had acquired the reputation of having strenuously endeavoured to fulfil his arduous duties, not only to the New Zealand Company, but also to the land purchasers, whose future prospects were necessarily so dependent on the judgment, zeal, and integrity of the individual to whom the important task was confided of selecting the site of the future settlement. Much stress was laid by the directors on the undoubted qualifications of Mr. Tuckett, at the time of his appointment, as affording an additional ground of confidence on the part of the land purchasers, with whom his interests were purposely identified by his remuneration being made to consist chiefly of land in the Nelson settlement. Unable to reconcile these facts with the grievous and glaring error committed with regard to the ineligible site eventually chosen, I applied to Mr. Tuckett, who thereupon informed me of the circumstances attendant upon the establishment of Nelson, adding, that he availed himself gladly of every opportunity of declaring to the public, that he could and would have fulfilled his duty to the land purchasers, by the selection of a site suitable for a prosperous settlement, had he been allowed to do so by the New Zealand Company, there being no impediments on the part of the aborigines, or the government, which would have prevented the accomplishment of this object. Mr. Tuckett's statements coincided so closely with those I had already recorded concerning Wellington and New Plymouth, and, together with his evidence and opinions concerning the character and conduct of the natives, appeared

rapidly with which, by means of his exertions, considerable portions of land have been rendered available to the Company, and purchasers enabled to obtain possession of their allotments; the Court of Directors therefore expressed their marked approbation of that gentleman's conduct, and of the zeal, ability, and judgment with which he has performed the duties entrusted to him." (June, 1843.)

"NELSON.—Doubtless encouraged by the credulity of the public, and the eagerness with which the lands already offered for sale to constitute the settlements of Wellington and New Plymouth, had been purchased, without waiting to ascertain whether the seller had really possessed that which was offered for sale, or whether, if possessed, it was desirable for occupation, the New Zealand Company, late in 1840, brought before the public the scheme of a new sale of lands, by which it proposed to form a third, and a greater and more inviting settlement than either of the former; this third settlement to be called Nelson.† Professedly in order that it should be more advantageous to the future proprietary, as well as to all the members of this new settlement, the price of the land was appointed to be thirty shillings per acre, in lieu of twenty;‡ the New Zealand Company undertaking that proportionately greater advantages should be realized, by its expenditure of the money committed to its trust by the confiding purchasers. For it will be readily understood, that the sum of £300 was not paid by the purchaser merely for an allotment of 201 acres of suitable land: on the con-

to me, to form so valuable and interesting a narrative, that I have been induced to insert it in the form in which it was communicated to me, with few and trifling alterations; believing that the graphic and truthful view it contains of several important matters in the history of New Zealand, will abundantly atone for any minor defects in style, attendant upon a sketch not originally intended for publication.—R. M. M.

† By the terms of the prospectus issued by the Company in London, on the 15th of February, 1841, 201,000 acres of land were offered for sale, divided into 1,000 allotments of 201 acres each, which were to comprise three sections, viz.:—"150 acres of rural land, 50 acres of 'accommodation land,' in the immediate proximity of the town, and one town acre." The town was to comprise 1,000 acres, exclusive of reserves for streets, squares, churches, cemeteries, markets, and public gardens or parks. The price of each allotment of 201 acres was fixed at £300. Priority of choice for the three descriptions of sections was to be determined by three several lotteries in London. Of the £300,000 purchase-money, £150,000 was to be appropriated to the exclusive purpose of emigration to this particular settlement; £50,000 to defray the expenses of the Company in selecting the site and establishing the settlement; £50,000 to public purposes, including £15,000 towards a college, £15,000 for religious uses and endowments, and £20,000 for the "encouragement of steam navigation, by way of bounty;" the remaining £50,000 was to go to the Company, "for its expenses, and profit on the use of its capital." A quantity of land equal to "one-tenth" of the 201,000 acres was to be reserved for the natives, "so that the quantity of land to be appropriated will, in fact, consist of 221,100 acres, and the town of 1,100 acres."—Parliamentary Papers of 11th May, 1841, p. 135.

trary, the land was to constitute but a small portion of the value which the proprietor was entitled to receive from the New Zealand Company. And here it is necessary to observe one very important clause in the covenant, namely, that *the best remaining site in New Zealand should be carefully selected for the new settlement.* * * * A circumstance which greatly conduced, in its effect, to the prejudice of the Nelson settlement, and which, of itself alone, was sufficient to prevent the New Zealand Company from acquiring and delivering the quantity of land which it had presumed to offer, and to receive the purchase-money for, was the inflexible persistence of its agents in refusing to purchase of the true proprietors, *the resident natives*, what was required for the settlement. They, the agents, were willing, it appears, to make presents to the resident natives everywhere, on taking possession, and, in some instances, even to an amount of value exceeding that at which these resident natives would have sold them the land, but only on condition, that in accepting these presents, they, the natives, should acknowledge that these lands had been previously sold to the Company's principal agent, Colonel W. Wakefield. It is conjectured, either that this procedure had its motive in some latent view of the sense in which might be understood the letter of the award which the New Zealand Company had obtained from Mr. Pennington, acting on behalf of the government, or else that, planting the settlement of Nelson on the shores of Blind Bay, without the concurrence of the governor, Captain Hobson, they thought to do so with greater secrecy, if they could show that they could there obtain lands which had been purchased for the New Zealand Company before the British government had assumed the sovereignty, or appointed a governor. Whatever may have been the real motive, their conduct, in this respect, as well as in long persisting to disallow the authority of the land commissioner to investigate their claims to land, was almost the sole cause of all the opposition subsequently manifested by the natives, and of the consequent inability of the New Zealand Company to acquire or deliver to the purchasers, or their agents, the lands for which it had received their money. And these points of obstruction have another and even stronger claim on the consideration of the reader; for if overlooked, it might be readily imagined that the natives were insatiable and unfaithful, and thus great injustice would be done to them; whereas, if understood at the outset, and borne in mind, it will, in the sequel of the events which are to be recorded, be evident that the natives were an example to the colonists in self-respect and a love of honour and integrity. It will be seen, that whilst a very few fighting chiefs could be tempted to sell and to resell as often as a purchaser should offer a fresh consideration, however trifling, the greater part of the three islands, or any extent, small or great, as each fresh land-shark might desire, yet that the true proprietor, the resident native, in almost every case, and in every case if he had embraced the profession of Christianity, was eminently faithful to his engagement, however little he had received, and could not be tempted to accept a much greater gain, if on the condition of being unfaithful to his engagement, or a party to a lie. Another great impediment to success which the policy of the New Zealand Company created, arose out of its entire neglect and disregard of a numerous class of adventurous settlers, chiefly British, who had braved many dangers, before Chris-

tianity had shed its powerful and benign influence on the inhabitants of New Zealand, and prepared them for civilization. Many of these had formed connections with the natives; the daughters of influential chiefs were the mothers of their children; they had much influence with the natives; and not a few of them merited the influence to which they had attained. Domestic animals had been introduced and reared by them; horticulture, and, to some extent, agriculture was pursued by them: they had taught the natives to construct better residences, and to use boats; and their women to wash and bake, and to sew—improving them until they had become more helpful and companionable. They would have cordially welcomed the colonists, and used their influence with the natives to facilitate the colonization of the islands, if their prior rights and interests, and those of their children and the mothers had had just and fair consideration. But these were utterly disregarded, not only by the New Zealand Company, but by the government. And this injustice to this class of adventurous men, the first colonists, has been, and is yet, an ever active cause of distrust and opposition.

"In addition to the continuous series of errors to which may be attributed the inability of the New Zealand Company to fulfil its engagements, is the exceeding folly of its arrangements—so unwise, that it presents a great demand on the credulity of the most unsuspecting mind, to believe that the New Zealand Company ever really cared for the success of its settlements. Imagine a town to be founded at once in a new country by a handful of emigrants, in extent not less than two and three square miles; that the allotment of land must be purchased as a whole, though it comprised three sections, or three estates; that the actual and valuable colonist must not only wait until the whole town was surveyed and distributed, though he should have no want of a town lot, but that he had to wait until land could be found sufficient to afford the entire number of sections required in the whole scheme of the settlement, before he might select or obtain one; because the order of choice was not in the order of purchase, or of arrival in the colony, but was determined in the most injurious, not to say illegal and immoral method, by making a lottery of the whole. Can it be reasonably believed that the New Zealand Company was actuated rather by patriotism and philanthropy, than by the hope of gain by land-dealing, in which it might doubtless have well succeeded, had it not, in each successive step, by unparalleled and systematic indirectness of procedure, frustrated its own interests, as well as those of all who entrusted to it theirs. Of the latter, the most numerous and the most flagrantly deceived, were those of the labouring class, whom it induced to emigrate. For whilst it urged one class of its victims to purchase land at a high price, on its assurance that the cheapness of labour in the colony would make it profitable as an investment or for occupation, at the very same time, it gave each labouring man who emigrated an expectation of obtaining £2 per week wages, and promised to employ them itself at thirty shillings, should other and better employment not be offered them.

"The purchaser of land paid money on the assurance that the labourer would be prevented from becoming a cottier, and thus competing with his employer, or with the resident proprietor, in supplying the market with produce, and yet from the commencement the principal agent had made cottiers of

the labourers as rapidly as possible; and more, in Wellington and Nelson, their becoming cottiers was made the condition of receiving employment or other assistance. At the outset it had only this rational ground for hope of success; viz., the supposition that Australia could not grow grain to supply its own consumption, and that New Zealand afforded great facilities for growing it for consumption and for exportation.

"But when the settlement of Nelson was formed, the New Zealand Company knew that the facts were exactly the reverse, and that Australia would export to New Zealand; that the land of Australia was inexpensive to cultivate, and that the land in New Zealand which it claimed to have purchased was, for the most part, ruinously expensive to bring into cultivation; and yet the New Zealand Company continued to urge on the public the advantage to be derived from purchasing land of it. For the sake of human nature, we would fain hope that its career stands, and will ever remain unparalleled in its extreme of unmitigated folly and injustice. The only pleasure the reader can derive from perusing the narrative of the events of any of the settlements, is the evidence ever prominent, that the wicked has been overthrown by his own wickedness; but then there must be also uppermost the painful conviction, that this wickedness has involved hundreds, and thousands, if we embrace both the natives and the emigrants, in sufferings and crimes, for which no reparation has been made, and which no human tribunal could ever cancel.

"The preliminary expedition for the formation of the settlement of Nelson sailed from the Thames in April, 1841. It consisted of two vessels, the *Whitby* and the *Will Watch*, in which were embarked about eighty picked labourers, and the surveyors; the resident agent, Captain Wakefield,* in the *Whitby*, with half of the party; the chief surveyor (Mr. Tuckett) in the *Will Watch*, with the remainder. It being provided so that one party in either vessel should be sufficiently complete to be able, in the event of the loss of one of the ships, to carry into execution the instructions of the directors in regard to the preliminary steps preparatory to the arrival of the emigrants. These gentlemen, the resident agent and the chief surveyor, had each verbal and written instructions to the effect, that after their arrival at Wellington, they were to proceed to visit such localities as might be recommended to their attention by the principal agent, Colonel Wakefield, and that if none of these appeared to them to be good enough, that they should explore New Zealand further for a better, and the chief surveyor was specially instructed that should he arrive there first, and should the resident agent not arrive within a month later, he was to proceed with his party to execute the foregoing instructions. The labouring men who embarked in these ships were for the most part married men, but their wives and children did not accompany them. It was considered that the selection of a suitable site, and the preliminary labours necessary to prepare for the arrival of families, would be a work occupying a considerable time, on which account it was determined that the women and children should not embark until six months later, but the directors pledged themselves that the comfort and best interests of the wives and families should receive

their best attention, both in reference to their comfort, welfare at the depôt, and subsequently on the voyage. With such assurances the party left their fatherland in good spirits, and after a favourable passage, both ships arrived at Wellington, New Zealand.

"It appears from the printed correspondence appended to the twelfth Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company, that preparatory to the sailing of the preliminary expedition, the directors had solicited Lord John Russell, to instruct the governor to give them an extended field of selection, and had intimated that, on their part at least, there would be no objection to making this settlement of Nelson, or some future settlement identical with the seat of government. In making this request they acknowledged that they had not the power of unlimited selection, notwithstanding that in their addresses to the public, this was assumed without any qualification, they receiving the purchase-money for land in the settlement of Nelson, on the pledge of selecting the best remaining site.

"Lord J. Russell acceded to their request, giving some directions to the governor to extend their field of selection, but expressly prohibiting him from amalgamating the seat of government with any existing or future settlement of the New Zealand Company. Captain Hobson, with the best disposition to facilitate the wishes and enterprise of the New Zealand Company, met the preliminary expedition for the settlement of Nelson, on its arrival at Wellington; and on being applied to by the principal agent of the Company, to point out a district suitable for the proposed settlement, he invited the agents to examine three districts, either of which he engaged to put them in possession of, at Maoranghi, or on the Thames, or on the Waipa.

"But the agents of the Company refused to examine these, and specified Port Cooper, Banks' Peninsula, to be the site which they required for the new settlement.

"The governor refused his consent to the settlement being formed at Port Cooper, or anywhere in the Middle Isle. The agent utterly disregarding the covenant of selection of a site made by the New Zealand Company with those who purchased land in the future settlement of Nelson, then proposed to the governor an arrangement, by which the settlement of the Company should be confined to a territory on both sides of Cook's Straits, to which he proposed to have a valid title.† It was eventually determined to form the settlement on the shores of Blind Bay, and accordingly the preliminary expedition, leaving Port Nicholson, proceeded to Astrolabe roads, having embarked as guide or pilot, a Mr. Moore, who had already, with other settlers from Port Nicholson, visited the district, reported to their employers at Wellington, that it was suitable for the intended new settlement of Nelson, and had induced the resident natives to erect some large rude buildings at the entrance of a narrow valley, called the Rewaka, for the accommodation of the emigrants on their arrival. On quitting Port Nicholson, the *Whitby* and *Will Watch*, were compelled by the wind to approach near to the opposite shore of Cloudy Bay, and from each vessel was observed with no little surprise, the extensive plain of the Wairau, and the grassy hills to the east, since, of the probable eligi

* A brother of Colonel Wakefield, and of Mr. E. Gibbon Wakefield.

† Vide Colonel Wakefield's Letter, August 24th, 1841.

bility of this land for a settlement, with the contiguous harbour of Port Underwood, no rumour had transpired whilst the ships remained at Port Nicholson. Without examining either, they proceeded, beating through the straits, endeavouring to reach the island of Kapiti. The wind continued adverse, and increasing in strength after sun down, the *Will Watch* entered Queen Charlotte's Sound, and anchored in Ship's Cove. On weighing anchor next morning, desirous of learning whether there was any land on the shores of the sound, more available for occupation than the steep and stony-faced hills around these coves, the *Will Watch* stood up the sound as far as the north-west entrance of the narrow strait called the Tory Channel, and returning much disappointed at the aspect of the promised land, bore across the straits for Kapiti island, meeting the *Whitby*, at the appointed rendezvous. The object of calling at Kapiti was to acquaint the chief Rauperaha, that they were going to settle on the lands on the shores of Blind Bay, which he had sold to the principal agent. It does not appear that this chief offered any objection to the step, nor was it likely that he should, as he had pretended to sell that, which by native usage he had no authority to sell, and was probably almost the only party up to that time who had benefitted from the transaction. He listened to the intelligence respecting the great number of British, whose arrival at the settlement might be shortly expected, with a manner and expression in which something of alarm was scarcely concealed, but in which disbelief of the truth of the statement was clearly predominant. The principal chief of another tribe, E. Hiko, an inoffensive man, vain, and of weak mind, and who lived in much terror of his crafty and sanguinary neighbour, Rauperaha, was also visited and conciliated; as among the natives resident at Blind Bay, some were of Rauperaha's tribe, and others of E. Hiko's. Sailing from Kapiti, the ships proceeded to Astrolabe Roads, where having anchored, they were soon visited by the natives from the nearest pah, the *Motueka* and *Rewaka*, who seemed delighted at their arrival. A time having been appointed for a formal interview on shore, the agent, Captain Wakefield, informed them that on coming to take possession of the land which the principal agent, Colonel Wakefield, had already purchased, it was his intention to make them a very liberal present, in proof of the good-will of the colonists towards them; he explained to them the extensiveness of the contemplated plan, the numbers of British that might be expected to arrive to occupy the land, the quantity of land (one-tenth), that was to be reserved for them, (the natives,) and promised them that they should retain their present cultivations. Their reply was to the effect that they were well satisfied with his intentions and assurances, and welcomed the arrival of the British, provided he was disposed to purchase the land, but they indignantly declined to receive presents from him, on condition of acknowledging that the land had been already acquired by purchase. The conference broke up without any arrangement being made, each party being resolute as to the terms.

"Subsequently, by the exertions of Messrs. Moore, Heaphy, and the interpreter, and the threat of the departure of the expedition to favour another district, and the temptation of an augmented amount of presents, the majority of the influential natives reluctantly acceded to the condition imposed by the agent.

"Three parties of the surveyors proceeded to look for available land, and also for an available port, since there was no land in proximity to Astrolabe Roads. One of these parties, guided by Mr. Moore, landing at the buildings already alluded to as erected at the mouth of the *Rewaka*, proceeded up that valley, and retracing their steps, returned to the ships at Astrolabe Roads, and reported to the agent on the delightfulness of the country and the vast extent of excellent land which they had seen. Another party, conducted by Mr. Heaphy, landed at the same spot, and crossing the little plain near the mouth of the *Motueka*, followed inland the course of the narrow valley of that river to a distance from its mouth of about fourteen miles, and then retracing their steps, returned to Astrolabe Roads, where Mr. Heaphy reported to the agent that they had seen abundance of land for the requirements of the settlement of Nelson.

The third party consisted of the Chief Surveyor, one of his assistants, and a party of natives; passing by the *Rewaka* and *Motueka* rivers, he landed at the mouth of the *Montere*, and then, directing his course first eastward, and then inland to the south, he examined a tract of country of about ten miles square, and returning after an absence of several days, also examined the plain of the *Motueka*, its valley, as far as there was any considerable breadth of available land, not extending more than seven miles from its mouth inland, and likewise all that was eligible of the narrow valley of the *Rewaka*. He reported to the agent, that the quantity of prime land which they had seen did not exceed 4,000 acres; that of second-rate land he estimated the quantity at 8,000 to 10,000 acres; and that the rest of the country was utterly worthless for subdivision into sections;* and that, therefore, the settlement could not be formed on that side of Blind Bay. But he further informed the agent, that from a summit of a ridge of hills which he had gained, he had looked down upon a large plain, through which flowed a river called by the natives the *Waimea*, which discharged its waters into the sea at the south-eastern extremity of the bay, where much more available land could be obtained, should its quality be good, and where a port might possibly be found. The agent commented with much dissatisfaction on the discrepancy between this report and those of the two other exploring parties, and expressing his satisfaction with the other reports, assumed the responsibility of deciding on the sufficiency of the district examined, and directed the chief surveyor to make the necessary arrangements for the commencement of the survey of a site for the future town, from the little bay or cove of *Kaiteriteri*, extending along shore to the mouth of the *Rewaka* valley. The chief surveyor requested to be allowed to examine and report on the nature of the country on the shores of *Massaere Bay*; but this the agent would not permit. The survey of the town-site was commenced accordingly by the first assistant surveyor, Mr. Stephens; and the chief surveyor was then dispatched by the agent to explore the *Waimea*, the approved describer, Mr. Heaphy, being sent with him. At the same time, Mr. Moore, accompanied by an assistant surveyor and an able Deal boatman, was sent to the opposite and south-eastern shore of Blind Bay, to see if any port existed

* The italics throughout are mine, not Mr. Tuckett's.—R. M. M.

there. The latter, landing on a narrow boulder bank, found within it a tidal harbour, known to the natives as the *Wakatu*, but previously unvisited by Europeans, the entrance to which proved to be accessible at high-water to ships of 500 or 600 tons. Returning with this intelligence to Astrolabe Roads, they also informed the agent that there was much good land north of and around the haven of Wakatu. The chief surveyor and Mr. Heaphy were absent more than a week, occupied in exploring the plain of the Waimea, and further inland, its valley, and the hills intermediate between the valley of the Waimea and Motueka rivers, at a distance in a direct line from the coast of about twenty-six miles, penetrating into the interior beyond the limits of good land. The chief surveyor informed the agent that he judged there could be obtained on the course of the Waimea, as much as 60,000 acres of land available in point of level surface, which varied much in quality; but would afford a much greater quantity of good land than was to be obtained in the district of the Moterea, Motueka, and Rewaka.

Mr. Heaphy then, and afterwards, in England, reported to the effect that the quantity of available land on the Waimea far exceeded the requirements of the settlement, and that its quality was all that could be desired. In consequence of these united reports of the greater advantages of a location on the other side of Blind Bay, the survey of the site for the town at Kaiteriteri was stopped, the whole party re-embarked, and the ship sailed from Astrolabe Roads and entered safely the Wakatu, now called Nelson Haven. But still, with the unexpected advantage of this new district of the Wakatu and the Waimea, which was unknown at Wellington, and had, perhaps, never before been trodden by a European, the chief surveyor felt convinced that he could not obtain anywhere on the shores of Blind Bay (not less than ninety miles of coast), or in the interior, as far as the land was available, more than one-third of the quantity of land required to complete the scheme of the Nelson settlement. Therefore, although well satisfied with the port of Wakatu, and the land contiguous, merely as a *site for a town*, he yet felt that its extent demanded that it should be placed where access could be had to the requisite quantity of land; and therefore, when directed to quit and discharge the *Will Watch*, and commence the survey, he again protested against the procedure, and demanded of the agent that he should be permitted, in conformity with the instructions given to him in London, to explore New Zealand further for a better site.* But the agent insisted on planting the settlement in Blind Bay; the Wakatu was therefore chosen as the best site on its shores. The survey was commenced and carried forward with energy and rapidity—the surface being for the most part unwooded, only covered with a growth of fern, flax, or bulrush;—the assistance of extra surveyors, who worked by con-

tract, being obtained at the suggestion of the chief surveyor. By the first opportunity, Mr. Heaphy was dispatched to England with the intelligence of the location. Here it may be mentioned, that in London, associated with a Mr. Brady (who had been one of the early Wellington adventurers), Mr. Heaphy advertised *Soirées* for the purpose of enlightening the public on the advantages to be derived from purchasing land from the New Zealand Company; in much the same manner as is now being done, in order to induce persons to purchase land in the Canterbury Settlement.

"Within two or three months after the party of the preliminary expedition had landed at the Wakatu, three ships arrived with emigrants. One of these brought the wives and some of the children of the men of the preliminary expedition: but many of the children had died on the passage from gross neglect, and many of the women had led a dissolute life during the passage, the captain and his crew frequenting their apartments, and abandoning themselves to disgraceful disorder, to the great grief and discomfort of such of the women who acted virtuously. The conduct on board one of the other two ships which brought emigrant labourers, with their families, and also cabin passengers, was scarcely less immoral and disgraceful. The proportion of emigrant labourers to cabin passengers or proprietors, who might be expected to become employers, was even in the first two ships greatly in excess, although subsequently this pernicious disproportion became even greater and greater. Amongst the proprietors who arrived at an early period, was a Mr. Thompson, who had purchased three allotments of land, and obtained the appointment of police magistrate. Early in 1842, the principal agent arrived from Wellington, and spent a day or two at Nelson. He expressed dissatisfaction at the number of men then employed on public works, and paid by the resident agent; and also at the rate of wages they were receiving. He directed that the number and the rate of wages should be kept as low as possible, that they might be *compelled to become cottiers*. On this being objected to by the chief surveyor, as contrary to Mr. E. G. Wakefield's plan of colonization, which the New Zealand Company had adopted, and as a violation of the conditions on which the proprietors had purchased land, and the labourers had been engaged to emigrate, the principal agent observed, that his brother's plan was impracticable, that he had made cottiers of the labouring emigrants from the time of their first arrival at Wellington, and that the same course must be pursued with them at Nelson. Subsequently, the resident agent endeavoured to carry out these instructions; the number of men employed had alarmingly increased by every fresh arrival; they were all entitled to employment; and the rate of wages paid was only that which had been fixed in London by agreement. It was then reduced to nearly half. The men turned out, and, as a body, waited on Captain Wakefield, and protested against

either by land or water, throughout the year is impracticable.

In the following table, the writer puts down the comparatively level land on Massacre and Blind Bay, at the Wairoa, &c., as 306,000 acres, of this he admits that 90,000 acres is a mere guess; it may be a true estimate or otherwise. The quantity of average land available for cultivation out of 306,000 is put down at 132,000, but of this more than one-half

* The disadvantage of the position selected for the settlement of Nelson, is fully set forth in the *Nelson Examiner*, in 1846. A detailed exposition is given of each district, and although the writer is desirous of taking as cheering a view as possible of the prospects of the settlement, he demonstrates how little land, suitable for the agriculturalist, is available within a distance of fifty to one hundred miles of the town of Nelson, with which regular communication

the injustice of these proceedings. Finding that no discretionary power was vested in him, after some days spent in declamation and threatenings, they determined to resume work, at least nominally, and to accept the reduced wages; at the same time, they resolved *not to be cottiers*, to claim constant employment of the New Zealand Company, and to do as little work as possible. This course of action they steadily pursued for about fifteen months from that time, doing, on an average, not more in the week than they would have done in England, or by piece-work, in a day and a-half; and on every fresh arrival

is also guess work, and the other half is in many parts covered with trees, that would cost at least £20 an acre to clear, or consists of swampy or flooded land—which it would be equally expensive to clear. Some small spots of alluvial soil are in ravines and gullies—almost inaccessible.

Rough Survey of the "probable" amount of comparatively level land, within the supposed boundaries of the Nelson settlement:—

Localities.	Gross Amount of land, known or supposed to be level.	Estimated amount of fair average quality, or available for cultivation.
	Acres.	Acres.
Massacre Bay—		
Aorere ¹	115,000	10,000
Takaka and Motupipi ² . . .	30,000	15,000
Blind Bay—		
Motueka ³	10,000	5,000
Montere Cliffs ⁴	15,000	—
Moutere Wood ⁵	5,000	—
Upper Motueka and Motupika ⁶	18,000	5,000
Wai-iti, and tributaries ⁷ . . .	6,000	5,000
Nelson suburbs, Waimea W. and Waimea Island ⁸ . . . }	7,000	2,000
Pelorus, including Kaituna Pass and tributaries ⁹ }	15,000*	15,000
Queen Charlotte's Sound, including Waitohi Pass and tributaries ¹⁰ }	15,000*	15,000
Wairua—		
Kaipariti-hau ¹¹	20,000*	60,000
Wairua Plain ¹¹	100,000*	
Wairua Valley ¹¹	50,000*	
	306,000	132,000

The asterisk (*) indicates that the figures thus marked are rough estimates by the eye, or derived from vague information.

¹ Heavily timbered. ² A small part open land, the rest timbered. ³ Some hilly, open and timbered; much good soil, but very difficult of access. ⁴ One mass of barren clay hills, covered with stunted fern; a small portion of rather better land near the cliffs. ⁵ Low undulating clay hills. ⁶ A large portion of very broken ground, a tract well suited for pasturage, but much subjected to floods. ⁷ A series of narrow gorges; soil of medium quality. ⁸ Best portion consists of marshy ground; Waimea W., barren clay hills; Waimea Island, common sand hills. ⁹ Greater portion timbered, land said to be fertile. ¹⁰ Finely timbered. ¹¹ Prevailing character pastoral; portion most suited for agriculture lies within the lower half of the plain, some of it swampy and difficult of drainage.

of emigrants, they instigated the newly-arrived labourers not to accept employment from the resident proprietors under the rate of wages promised in London, at the New Zealand House, or by its agents in the country, and to importune the agent for employment, until he sent them to their predecessors, on the so-called public works. Great deterioration of character, and general demoralization and ill feeling was necessarily induced by this disgraceful bad faith, and unprofitable administration of the power and affairs of the infant settlement. As the surveys of the districts already named drew towards completion, it became manifest that the estimates of the chief surveyor of the settlement *had been erroneous; but only in this wise—that he had, in each instance, over-estimated the land, both in respect of quantity and of quality.*

"It was necessary to obtain lands somewhere else: for 200,000 or 220,000 acres, inclusive of the natives' reserves, were to be subdivided into sections; and the 1,000 or 1,100 sections of fifty acres, called suburban, though many were twenty and thirty miles distant from the town, had all to be found and surveyed, before selection or distribution of any could be had by the few and needy proprietors who had come out to be residents; and the 1,000 or 1,100 sections of 150 acres each, called rural, likewise must also all be obtained and surveyed before any could be chosen or delivered. The chief surveyor, having heard that there was good land, and also coal, in Massacre Bay, was pressing to examine that district, as being the nearest, and probably the best, from whence the natives were already in the practice of bringing their produce to the Nelson market. The agent was reluctant to have it annexed. It appeared that the principal agent opposed it. The Wellington interest probably thought it to be too good, on account of the coal, to become part of the Nelson settlement; and the agents well knew, that there at least it would appear, as declared by Governor Hobson, 'that the lands were claimed by other parties.'

"At length, finding that the survey could not otherwise proceed, the agent allowed the chief surveyor to proceed to Massacre Bay, and examine the district. Supplying him with goods, he directed him to treat with the natives, as had been done in the first instance, on their arrival at Astrolabe roads, with the natives of the Motueka, viz., to require them to acknowledge the land to have been already purchased by the principal agent, and to receive the goods as a present, in proof of the friendship of the colonists, on the occasion of their taking possession. Having procured a small schooner, and with a few labourers, in addition to the crew, to enable him to load her with coal and limestone, in the event of finding either or both accessible without much preliminary labour, Mr. Tuckett, accompanied by a Mr. Drummond, proceeded to Massacre Bay, and anchored near the principal pah. The natives gave him a friendly and cordial reception, but refused to receive the goods on the condition required, to which they knew that their neighbours, the natives of the Motueka, had submitted. The chiefs denied the statement that their land had been purchased by Colonel Wakefield: they stated, that they had sold to others, or to another, some of the land, and that they were willing to sell more, if the chief surveyor came to purchase. When informed that the land was claimed for the New Zealand Company, by virtue of its having been purchased by its principal agent of Rauperaha, they treated with much indignation and

contempt the pretensions of Rauperalia to sell *their* land, or any other land which did not belong to him.

"The natives, persisting in their determination not to accept the goods on the condition required, the chief surveyor informed them, that he would proceed to examine the lands on the Bay (a coast line of about fifty miles), and would return to them after a few days, and that, in his absence, he wished that the men whom he had brought with him for the purpose, should be occupied in boring the coal-seam, to ascertain its depth. The natives appeared not to object to its being done; but on his return to the schooner, after some days' absence, he found all hands on board, and learnt that the natives would not permit them to go to the coal, nor even to procure wood or water, unless they would purchase it. Proceeding immediately to the pah, he reproached the chief for his opposition to his wishes, and his inhospitality and meanness in desiring to sell wood and water; to which the other replied, that it was the custom of the white man at Sydney to sell water; and in respect to the coal or stone, that he would not allow it to be touched; but if the chief surveyor wished to purchase any, his people would get it, and bring it to the schooner. The chief surveyor then informed them, that as they refused the goods, they must go to Nelson, and treat with the Company's agent respecting their mutual claims; but that having come for the purpose, he should not return without loading the schooner, for which purpose he should proceed, with his boats, to the coal-bed, and obtain there the quantity that he required. The chiefs first threatened that they would meet him there, and prevent him from doing it; then they urged on him very strongly the consideration, that in doing as he proposed, he would be a thief; and lastly, they offered to get some for him, and to put it on board without payment, that he might have a specimen to take back with him on his return to Nelson. He endeavoured to explain to them, that it was not all good; that they did not know the good from the bad; that they had not the tools needful for working it; and lastly, that he was instructed to take possession of it as the property of his employers, and that on the morrow, he would take as much coal as he required, and stake the land, by way of marking possession. The chiefs repeated their threats of preventing him by force. The next day, as soon as the tide was favourable, and having first sent on shore to the chief to inform him that he was going for the coal, he left with the boats, and returned to the schooner with as much coal as the boats could carry, without having been interrupted, and without having seen any native. The interpreter, who had lived several years in New Zealand, and had much experience of the violence of the natives, as *heathens*, and in association with the European squatters and whalers, many of whom were also alike heathen, expressing much alarm at his determination to take the coal, was left on board the schooner. When the lading was completed, (sufficient limestone had been previously obtained), a canoe came off from the pah, having on board the three chiefs, *unaccompanied*, two of whom came on board, the third remaining in the canoe. The principal chief, on looking at the coal, appeared to become almost convulsed with rage, and went through a most extraordinary pantomimic exhibition of passion, as an accompaniment to a vehement oration, frequently interrupted by jumping into the hold, and casting overboard large lumps of coal. One of the

European party was so alarmed by this very powerful acting, that he ran to the cabin, reappeared with a fowling-piece, and proposed to the chief surveyor to fire on the chief. He was immediately requested to keep himself and the gun in the cabin, and on no account to interfere. Fortunately, he complied forthwith; and though what passed did not interrupt the declamation and pantomime of the chief, the action of the man, and the instant reproof which he received, was all intelligently appreciated. When his passionate demonstration was brought to an end by exhaustion, the chief entreated that what had been taken might at least be paid for, that the surveyor might not have the disgrace of thieving. Next followed a somewhat similar performance, in two acts, from the other chief. They then remained still and silent for about ten minutes, when the principal chief walked forward, and with all the calmness of subdued grief, he offered his hand to the surveyor, and went down into his canoe, the other chief, after a short pause, very gravely doing the same. The third chief, who had remained in the canoe, stepped on board the boat, offered his hand with a look of kindness, and retired.

The relater of these incidents* is convinced that it was only because he did not bear arms for defence, and because he did bear and distribute to the natives the New Testament, that he and his companions, under Providence, owed their safety, and that they were enabled with success and impunity to make that aggression on the property or rights of these natives, because these natives had embraced Christianity, and therefore were most reluctant to do violence to any—much more to one who professed Christianity, and who having the book (the Bible), probably appeared to them to be some sort of missionary. The natives on the shores of Massacre Bay, at each village were found to be professed Christians, zealously observing the sabbath-day, and assembling daily to public prayers; and yet, at that time, they had not been visited by any European missionary. A few young natives after residing a while at the mission-station of Mr. Ironside, at Port Underwood, Cloudy Bay, having learnt to read and write, and accustomed themselves to the mode there observed of conducting divine worship, returned to their own people and became their instructors. On this journey the surveyor visited Wanganui, on the west coast, as well as those districts which discharged their waters into Massacre Bay. Returning to Nelson, arrangements were made for the survey of the available lands in Massacre Bay; and almost simultaneously, a company of picked labourers were associated as a coal company, and induced by the agent to undertake, with assistance, in the shape of rations and tools, the enterprise of commencing, simultaneously with the survey, to work the coal and to burn lime. The survey and the coal-working detachments, together, formed a party rather formidable in numbers. The agent accompanied them; and endeavoured to overcome the opposition of the natives, to induce them to accept presents, and acknowledge the land to be the property of the New Zealand Company; but all his efforts were vain. Some weeks, of course, elapsed before the men had constructed houses for their

* Viz., the chief surveyor, Mr. Tuckett, who shared the views entertained by the Society of Friends respecting the unlawfulness of war.—R. M. M.

shelter. Whilst thus occupied, the Christian natives were friendly and kind to them; but as soon as the former commenced directing their labour to raising and uncovering coal, the natives assembled and obstructed them, not by blows, but by re-covering the coal, and filling in their diggings with earth, and boughs, and stones, whenever they stopped work, at meal times, or during the night. The natives were careful that the European labourers should feel that they had no ill-will towards them personally, but only that they would not be robbed. Of course, the associated labourers, sent to Nelson frequent reports of the obstruction which they met with, and it was soon apparent that the enterprise must be abandoned, if the interference of the natives could not be prevented. The agent pressed the police magistrate, Mr. Thompson, to proceed to Massacre Bay, and arrest the chiefs, but he, for a while, firmly resisted such solicitations, on the ground of his responsibility to the government, as well as because the natives had done nothing illegal. At last came tidings, that one of the chiefs had broken in the heads of some casks which had been filled with lime to be shipped to Nelson, on which the agent required of the police magistrate to issue a warrant for the arrest of this chief, and to accompany him, and an armed party, to Massacre Bay. To this plan the magistrate reluctantly consented: it was carried into execution. The chief refused to present himself before the police magistrate, on which two men were ordered to carry him thither by force, which they did, under the protection of an armed party. The police magistrate required him to pay a fine for the offence, or to be taken to Nelson, and imprisoned there. The chief would not yield to pay a fine. Had an attempt to send him on board the ship as a prisoner been made, the natives would have probably attacked the colonists. Both parties were saved from a dilemma by the interference of the chief's wife, who procured the money, paid the fine, and liberated her husband. The police magistrate returned to Nelson, not a little gratified and elated at the safe and successful issue of an expedition in which he had engaged with much reluctance, and evident doubt of its wisdom or legality. Meanwhile the surveyors met with no interruption, the measuring of the land being a matter unimportant in the view of the natives, *in comparison* with the taking away of their coal and limestone; and very soon after the interference of the police magistrate, the cause of strife ceased, by the breaking up of the association of coal-workers, from the simple fact, that as the coal was not good enough for exportation, and too sulphurous for forge work, and as there was abundance of wood for home consumption; there was no demand for it, either out of the country or in it. Of the whole party three only remained, who chiefly occupied themselves in sawing timber and burning limestone. The natives had been undoubtedly somewhat intimidated by the armed interference of the police magistrate, which left them no alternative but to fight, or to be passive. They forbore from fighting, but firmly and patiently persisted in not renouncing their right, or that of other purchasers, to the land, by accepting goods as presents on that condition. They were subsequently further discouraged and weakened by the loss of two of their most influential chiefs, who, in the prime and vigour of life, were drowned in the heavy swell and surf not far from the shore and their home.

"The purchase of land was not effected until long

after these events. They refused in 1844, the sum of £290, proposed by the government land commissioner, and the affair was not concluded until 1846, when, through the aid of the government representative, and the Church and Wesleyan missionaries, they were at length prevailed with, to conclude with the resident agent a sale of the lands, Mr. Crawford probably not insisting on their protecting further, his prior claim. The whole of the available land on Massacre Bay, afforded less than half the number of the rural sections of 150 acres each, required to complete the scheme of the settlement, *all of which was to be obtained and surveyed before the distribution of any could take place.* The survey having been carried north-west to Cape Farewell, a distance of about seventy miles from the town and port of Nelson, and all that was interjacent and available, and much that was valueless having been laid out in sections, it became necessary to explore further, and in the opposite direction, for available land. Persevering, but fruitless efforts were made to find a feasible route to the south, in hope of annexing land on the plain on the east coast of the Middle Island. On one of these expeditions a tolerably easy route was found to the east, by which the valley of the Wairau was reached, and by descending the valley, the plain of the Wairau, on the shore of Cloudy Bay, opposite to Port Nicholson, and distant from Nelson, by water, about ninety miles, and by land 110. The chief surveyor, accompanied by an assistant, Mr. W. Davidson, and by a proprietor in the settlement, Captain England, having examined the Wairau Plain, and its facilities of communication with three tidal waters, viz., Port Underwood, the head of Queen Charlotte's Sound, and of the Pelorus, as also the overland route to the town of Nelson, reported it to be the *only available surface between Cape Farewell and Cape Campbell, the entire extent of the northern coast of the Middle Isle*, sufficient to afford the number of sections required to complete the settlement. The resident agent (Captain Wakefield), reluctantly determined on its being included in the survey of the settlement. There seemed to be, as in the former instance of Massacre Bay, opposition on the part of the principal agent (Colonel Wakefield), either from fear of the effect of its future occupation by, and annexation to another town and port, being prejudicial to the interests of the opposite town of Wellington, or from anticipation that the Company's claim to the Wairau would be resisted by other claimants and by the natives.

"Intelligence that the Wairau had been examined by the chief surveyor, and that it was intended to commence surveying it, soon reached the old heathen chief Rauperaha, on which, accompanied by two other chiefs, E. Hiko and Ranghiaiaia, he left the Northern Island, and crossing the straits, proceeded to the town of Nelson. The resident agent gave the chiefs an official interview in the house of a Dr. Wilson; and in the presence of many of the colonists, Rauperaha informed Captain Wakefield that having heard that persons had gone from Nelson to the Wairau, and that it was their intention to survey it, he had come to inform the agent that *they must not go there, as he had not sold the Wairau to the principal agent*, and was not then disposed to do so; but if he should sell it, the payment must be considerable—"the cask of gold very great." In reply to him, the resident agent claimed the Wairau as belonging to the Company; insisted on its having

been already purchased, and informed them that it must be surveyed. Ranghiaia denied the sale; refused to sell; and desired the interpreter to tell the agent that if he went there he would meet him and take his head. Captain Wakefield calmly replied that if Ranghiaia interfered with, or interrupted the survey, he would take with him 300 constables, and arrest him (make a tie of him.) Ranghiaia then, and daily whilst he remained at Nelson, continued to threaten each one whom he regarded as a leader of the colonists with death, in case they proceeded to the Wairau, unless they could kill him; in that case his conqueror should be welcome to the disputed territory. Rauperaha fawned, and begged daily for presents, declared Ranghiaia to be a bad fellow, and mocked the violence and vehemence of his utterance; entreated the surveyors not to persist in going to the Wairau, but said there should be no violence done them even if they did. He requested the agent to refer the claim to the decision of the government commissioner; but *the agent refused to recognise the commissioner's jurisdiction, in the claims of the New Zealand Company.* Rauperaha, on his departure with his companions, informed the agent that he should immediately request the Queen's land commissioner to examine the claim, and decide between them. The chiefs of the natives resident at Port Underwood, who occupied land there, had vast numbers of pigs in the Wairau, and frequented it for the purpose of procuring these animals for sale; and, at the proper seasons, for eels, ducks, pigeons, &c., for their own food. They had, under the instructions of Mr. Ironside, a Wesleyan missionary, embraced Christianity subsequent to their conquest of the former proprietors and inhabitants of the Wairau, and parts adjacent. The three principal chiefs were brothers, and they were the sons of an elder brother of Rauperaha. The eldest of the three, named Puaha, was much esteemed by Mr. Ironside and by his own people, and was a sincere and exemplary Christian, habitually exercising great self-control, and evincing much true refinement: his brothers were Christians only in name; could be gentle and courteous as long as they were pleased, or very much otherwise if anything thwarted them; one of these two was the Charley mentioned by the principal agent in his account of his purchases of land, and afterwards very active in the Wairau conflict. The chief surveyor had become acquainted with them at their paha; had been received by them in a friendly manner; informed by them that the Wairau was theirs; that they had never sold it, and that Rauperaha could have had no right to sell it. They had manifested pleasure at its being approved of, and desired by the surveyor, at the same time they evidently wanted to defer any negotiation about it, until they had extended their cultivations there, and consequently increased their claim for compensation in disposing of this district.

"No sooner had Rauperaha and the other heathen chiefs of the Northern Isle quitted Nelson, than these latter arrived. They feared that Rauperaha had received payment for the Wairau, or that he had negotiated for it; and accordingly, their object in coming was to deny his right, and to assert their own. The resident agent (Captain Wakefield) had always been disposed to act justly and liberally towards the resident natives, as far as the restriction of not purchasing, but only of making presents, imposed on him by his employers would permit, and in this instance, all his sympathy

was on the side of the pretensions and claims of Puaha. Before giving him an official interview he was desirous that Puaha's acquiescence with the terms he could not depart from, should be secured. Puaha was offered a schooner for himself, for which he was known to have a strong desire, and any reasonable amount of goods that he might specify, and of which he should have the distribution amongst the people whom he considered to be, with himself, the joint owners of the Wairau, *provided he would acknowledge the purchase to have been made by the principal agent: which he firmly refused to do.* The following day the resident agent received him and his brothers, and asserted the Company's right to the Wairau, by virtue of two purchases, one made by a Captain Blenkinsop, repurchased of his widow by Colonel Wakefield; and the second a direct purchase made of Rauperaha by Colonel Wakefield, and enumerated, amongst different districts within certain degrees of latitude.

"Puaha denied the authenticity of both the alleged sales, and explained that the Wairau did not appear in the original deeds, but *had been inserted, on an erasure, or by interlineation,* and also that if Rauperaha had sold it, the act was invalid, as it could not be purchased without his consent, which he had never given. The agent repeated his former assertions and claim, and Puaha his counter statement; and this was renewed for three successive days, at each interview, on which occasions, Puaha never for a moment lost his temper, and won the admiration and respect of the agent and all who had an opportunity of observing him. Neither party would yield, and the three brothers left Nelson to return to Port Underwood, protesting, but without using any threats, against the intention of the agent to have the Wairau surveyed."

The relation of the fatal consequence of persisting in this unwise determination, must be postponed until the events which took place in other parts of New Zealand simultaneously with the early establishment of Nelson, have been detailed. These were all more or less connected with the "land question," which, owing to the proceedings of Colonel Wakefield, was becoming extremely complicated. The natives, as British subjects, urgently appealed to the local government to maintain their rights, and protect them from the encroachments of the settlers. Thus as early as August, 1840, Lieutenant Shortland when dispatched to Wellington by Governor Hobson, to put a stop to the "provisional government" established there, found the place in so disturbed a state from disputes respecting lands claimed by the New Zealand Company, by settlers unconnected with the Company, and by the natives, that he found it necessary to issue a proclamation warning all persons on their allegiance to their sovereign from assembling under arms without being duly authorised so to do. Lieutenant Shortland states that the natives behaved

exceedingly well; and that although on arriving at the piece of land in dispute (*one of their inhabited paha or villages*) he found it full of armed Europeans, yet the natives were quiet and unarmed.*

In this instance, and in several others, the mediation of the local government was successfully employed in effecting a compromise between the natives and the settlers, and might, without doubt, have been exerted to a far greater and more beneficial extent, had not every such endeavour been thwarted and misrepresented, in accordance with the mischievous and crooked policy pursued by Colonel Wakefield, who, there is great reason to believe constantly "aimed at keeping up a continual agitation against Captain Hobson, in order to withdraw the settlers from the real cause of their misfortunes,"† viz., the inexcusable proceedings of the Company, and of himself as their agent. To this end the local newspapers were made the only channel of communication between the governor and the discontented settlers of Port Nicholson and New Plymouth, whose grievances were fostered by the New Zealand Company, and used as arguments for the recall of the governor. Every effort was made to prejudice the natives against him, and likewise against their old and staunch friends the missionaries, who, Mr. E. J. Wakefield informed them were "only shoemakers or tailors, who received money from people in England to preach the Gospel to them,"‡ but that the *rangatira* or "chief" missionaries might soon be expected.

On 9th June, 1841, an ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council at Auckland to repeal the land act passed on behalf of New Zealand by the government and council of New South Wales in September, 1840, and to terminate any commission issued under the authority of the said act. New Zealand having since been made independent of New South Wales, the new ordinance enacted that—

"All unappropriated lands within the colony of New Zealand, subject however to the rightful and necessary occupation and use thereof, by the aboriginal inhabitants of the said colony, are and remain Crown or domain lands of her Majesty, her heirs and successors, and that the sole and absolute right of pre-emption from the said aboriginal inhabitants, vests in, and can only be exercised by her Majesty, her heirs and successors."

* Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand.

† See Appendix to Report from Select Committee, 1844, p. 278.

‡ *Adventure in New Zealand*, vol. i., p. 173.

All titles to land however obtained, "either mediately or immediately from chiefs or individuals of the aboriginal tribes," unless allowed by the Crown, were declared absolutely null and void.

Under another clause the governor was empowered to appoint commissioners to hear, examine, and report on claims to grants of land in virtue of titles acquired from the natives, such claims to be made at latest within twelve months from the date of the ordinance. The said commissioners to be—

"Guided by the real justice and good conscience of the case, without regard to legal forms and solemnities;" no grant of land to be recommended by them "which shall exceed in extent 2,560 acres, unless specially authorized thereto, by the governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, or which shall comprehend any headland, promontory, bay, or island that may hereafter be required for any purpose of defence, or for the site of any town or village reserve, or for any other purpose of public utility; nor of any land situate on the sea-shore within 100 feet of high-water mark."

Persons claiming to have bought or acquired territory in the positions above referred to, were to receive an equivalent or compensation in land not so situated. The commissioners were to be authorized to summon witnesses, and to punish by fine or imprisonment those who should fail to appear or refuse to give evidence.§ The rate of purchase|| between the years 1815 and 1839 was to be the same as that fixed by the New South Wales Act of September, 1840 (see p. 167), but fifty per cent. was added above these rates for persons not personally resident in New Zealand, or not having a resident agent on the spot. Goods when given to the natives in barter for land were to be estimated at three times their selling price in Sydney at the time. A scale of fees to be paid by land claimants was scheduled with the ordinance, and Captain Richmond and Colonel Godfrey, who had been previously selected by Sir George Gipps, governor of New South Wales, were reappointed land commissioners by Captain Hobson.

Up to the 1st August, 1841, about 600 claims had been referred by the governor to the commissioners for hearing, some of which had regard to small patches of ground, others to millions of acres; the rights of different parties being in many

§ Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, 1843, p. 122.

|| See Schedule (B.) annexed to Ordinance.

instances asserted to the same tracts of land.

About this time intelligence reached the colony of the arrangement entered into by the home government, whereupon Colonel Wakefield addressed the following letter to the governor, which is given verbatim, as clearly evidencing the premises on which alone the New Zealand Company, by their own showing, expected, in common with all other purchasers, to receive a crown title to a certain portion of the territory over which the native titles had been extinguished:—

“Port Nicholson,, August 24, 1841.

“SIR,—On behalf of the New Zealand Company, with a view to carry out the arrangement entered into in November last, by her Majesty's secretary of state for the colonies, and the Company, and to effect the settlement of the Company's possessions in Cook's Straits, by the purchasers of land from them; upon the faith of that arrangement, I have the honour to submit to your excellency's consideration the following observations and proposals:—

“It is presumed in the arrangement, that the Company has acquired a valid title from the natives to a very large territory on both sides of Cook's Straits, to which they lay claim, and to which their settlements are to be confined. The colonial minister, upon that presumption, authorizes the selection by the Company (within six months of the receipt of a copy of the arrangement by your excellency) of certain portions of land within that territory, to the extent of four times the number of acres of pounds sterling expended by the Company, including 110,000 acres in the neighbourhood of Port Nicholson, and 50,000 acres in the neighbourhood of New Plymouth.

“The amount of acres thus to be selected will probably be found, when the account is taken of the Company's outlay up to that time, to exceed 600,000. At the same time a commission, to be named by her Majesty's government, is to decide on the validity of the presumed purchases from the natives by the Company. Under these circumstances, and pending the investigations of the commission, it seems desirable that purchasers of land from the Company, on the faith of this arrangement, should be enabled to locate themselves on land under your excellency's protection, and yet that no violation of the intentions of the government, as regards titles derived from natives, should take place. I therefore submit—

“First.—That an extension of time should be accorded to the Company by your excellency, for the selection of their lands, until the commission has decided on the titles; and—

“Secondly.—That to meet the other conditions of the arrangement, and to forward the prosperous settlement of this part of the colony, your excellency should guarantee to the British subjects who claim lands in New Zealand, as purchasers from the New Zealand Company, a sure and indefeasible title to all such lands as have been surveyed, or may be surveyed, for the purpose of satisfying their claims as such purchasers as aforesaid.

“Provided always, that if any part of the said lands shall, upon due inquiry, be found not to have

been validly purchased from them before the date of the alleged purchase by the New Zealand Company, full compensation shall be made to the natives, or the previous purchaser, as the case may be, by the New Zealand Company. In the case of the former, the compensation to be decided by the native protector, and an agent of the Company, or in case of difference, by an umpire named by them; and in the latter, according to the scale fixed in clause No. 6 of Sir George Gipps' act, in respect of claimants of land considered necessary for purposes of public utility, who might be dispossessed by the government. Provided also, that the New Zealand Company shall not, in any case, until the decision of the said commission, interfere with the site of any pah actually occupied by the natives, or with any place held sacred by them on religious grounds, or with any land hitherto unsold by the natives, and which they absolutely refuse to dispose of.

“I have, &c.,

“W. WAKEFIELD,

“Principal agent of the New Zealand Company.”

Colonel Wakefield forwarded a copy of the above letter to the directors in London. Their despatch to him, in return, bearing date April 30th, 1842,* proves how entirely their view of the agreement assimilated with that expressed by him, concerning the necessity it involved of extinguishing the native titles. In it he was assured by the secretary of the Company, that—

“The Court entirely approved and commended his conduct of the important negotiations with the governor; and that with reference to the claims of the natives alleged to be unextinguished, the directors, feeling the importance of placing the Company's title to the lands within its settlements above all doubt or question, authorize you to take such steps to that end as you may deem most advisable; and hereby place at your disposal, for that purpose, the sum of £500, and 1,000 acres of land.”†

Governor Hobson, on his part, notified to Colonel Wakefield, that the Crown would forego its right of pre-emption to certain lands, including the Wellington and Porirua district, 50,000 acres at New Plymouth, and 50,000 at Wanganni, and would grant to the Company legal titles to all such lands as might “by any one have been validly purchased from the natives, the Company compensating all previous purchasers, according to a scale to be fixed by a local ordinance.” This offer, the justice of which, so far as the “previous purchasers” were concerned, was at least questionable, was so decidedly favourable to the immediate interests of the settlers of the New Zealand Company, that Captain Hobson might reasonably have expected to find it gratefully accepted. On the contrary, we find Colonel

* Appendix to Select Committee of 1844; p. 544.

† Appendix to Report of Select Committee, 1844; p. 570.

Wakefield assuming the tone of an injured person, and informing the directors, that—

“Captain Hobson expressed himself favourable to my request, that he should guarantee a title to all past purchasers from the Company, as against white people; but positively refused to look upon the native title as fairly extinguished, by reason of the advantages secured to the aborigines by their reserved lands, and the introduction of civilization among them. This view of the subject, so inimical to the quiet progress of the Company's settlements,” Colonel Wakefield adds, “has been taken by Captain Hobson, in consequence of *his* treaty of Waitangi.”

The governor appears to have acted, both towards Colonel Wakefield and the natives, in good faith, and with a sincere desire to prevent hostilities he wrote to the former, assuring him of his readiness to sanction any equitable arrangement that might be made to induce the natives to yield up possession of their habitations within the limits of the territory before referred to, but at the same time warned him privately, that no force or compulsory measures for their removal would be permitted.

Captain Hobson clearly saw the gathering wrath of the natives; the chiefs who waited upon him on the occasion of his visit to Wellington, “expressed the greatest confidence in her Majesty's government, and their willingness to obey any order he might give them; but united in *demanding protection from the encroachments of the Company*, who they asserted had most unscrupulously appropriated their lands.”* In November (13th), 1841, Governor Hobson transmitted to her Majesty's Secretary of State for the colonies, a report from the chief protector of aborigines, setting forth the hostile feelings of the Maories to the claims of the Company at Porirua, Wanganui, and Taranaki.

On every side the settlers were met by the aborigines with the most determined opposition. On the 12th March, 1842, Governor Hobson reported to Lord Stanley, —“the natives violently resist the claims of the Company at Wanganui, and seem to threaten pretty generally great opposition to parting with their lands throughout the districts sold by the Company.” The Taupo tribe numbered 900 to 1,000 men; the Waitotera about 300; the Waikanai people, including their supporters from New Munster, at least 2,000. It was with extreme difficulty, that the Rev. Messrs. Had-

field and Mason, who had great influence over these tribes, prevented bloodshed, by assuring the chiefs that the proprietorship would hereafter be determined by the governor, or by a commissioner: the natives however declared—“*you may take our land, but you shall break our necks first.*”†

Mr. Gilbert Francis Dawson, the police magistrate at Wanganui, in 1842, protested publicly in writing “against the settlers proceeding to occupy lands, the possession of which the natives declared they would defend with violence.”‡

A few words must here be said of the formation of *Wanganui*, as an illustration of the plan adopted by the Company's principal agent to dispose of the unfortunate emigrants, of whom so many ship loads had been sent out by the London directors, before any due provision had been made for them.

Tyrone Power has given a short, graphic, and only too correct account of the place, and its unlucky founders. Wanganui, he says—

“Is one of the unwholesome mushroom settlements engendered by the New Zealand Company, for the purpose of removing to a distance a portion of the clamorous scrip-holders, who on arriving from England, looked, and looked in vain for their land. A prospectus issued by the agent of the Company, describing all imaginable advantages in this new Eden, and promising a town acre to all who would have their titles to land in the Wellington district transferred to Wanganui, was eagerly caught at by numbers of the gullible adventurers, who, with large families on their hands, and living at great expense in Wellington, without a hope of getting possession of the land originally assigned to them, were glad enough to see a prospect of settling themselves anywhere. The titles for *Wellington mountain and swamp* were exchanged for an equal quantity at Wanganui, with an addition of a town acre to every holder of a section of 100 acres; and the unfortunates were shipped off to a distance of 120 miles, where, clamour as they might, very little could be heard of them. Not a single individual was able to get possession of the land, with the exception of the town acre, which had formed the bait. On this many of them have vegetated up to the present day (March, 1847), now six years of hope deferred and disappointment.”—*Sketches in New Zealand*, p. 81.

At Porirua matters were assuming as alarming an aspect as at Wanganui. Rangihiaia, the powerful chief already referred to (see p. 185), had, from the first, opposed the settlement of any of the land around the harbour, affirming that he had not sold, and would not sell it; that he wished it for his children, and would maintain his rights. He acknowledged himself a Bri-

* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 12th August, 1842; pp. 262—171.

† Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 12th August, 1842; p. 173.

‡ Letter dated Wanganui, 24th February, 1842; pp. 286—287. Appendix to Report of Select Committee, 1844.

tish subject, declared that he did not understand the "native reserves," and could not be certain that his children would enjoy them in perpetuity. In the early part of the year 1841, he caused the road, or rather track opened through the forest, to be blocked up, and the tent of the surveyor to be taken down; and repeatedly stopped the progress of the surveys. In consequence however, of being assured that whether surveyed or not, the Land Commissioners would decide with equal justice between him and the Company, he suffered the surveyors* to proceed; but always under protest, and with an unqualified assurance that he would not allow a single person to settle in the Porirua district under the alleged purchase of Colonel Wakefield.

In defiance of Ranghiaiaata, and without waiting the decision of the commissioner, Colonel Wakefield issued leases of four sections near Porirua Harbour, of which, in April, 1842, the lessees proceeded to take possession, to build houses, and make preparations for the erection of a saw-mill. Two of the houses were nearly finished, and the other two had been commenced, when intelligence of these proceedings reached the chief, who thereupon gave notice that he intended to pull down the houses, which he did on the following day, coming for the purpose attended by a large body of natives. "No unnecessary violence, however, was employed, and no wilful destruction of property was committed."*

The first accounts of this occurrence which reached Wellington, were of the most exaggerated nature. A warrant was obtained for the apprehension of Ranghiaiaata, but not attempted to be carried into effect; and a public meeting assembled at Wellington to consider the course to be adopted. Mr. Hanson (the Crown prosecutor), was present, and heard an avowal publicly made by Colonel Wakefield, as agent of the New Zealand Company, of a course of proceeding so totally at variance with the true interests, both of the British and Maori population, that he deemed it his duty, as holding an official and responsible position, at once to report it to the governor.

Without pretending to give the exact words used by Colonel Wakefield, Mr. Hanson declared that he could vouch for the substantial accuracy, in every particular, of

* *Vide* Mr. Hanson's letter to Governor Hobson, printed in 1842.

the reply made by him to certain questions put by one of the settlers, to the effect,—
"had he done his utmost to give the purchasers under the New Zealand Company, peaceable possession of their lands?" Colonel Wakefield's answer was, that—

"On the occasion of Ranghiaiaata having blocked up the road, he had applied by letter to Mr. Murphy, and he read a copy of the letter; that when the governor was in Port Nicholson he had referred to the same subject, and had requested the presence of troops, which had been refused on the ground of the inadequacy of the force in the colony; but that *he had not treated with the natives for a settlement of their claims*. He added that he had not been very strenuous in his applications to the government, for although his instructions from the New Zealand Company directed him to yield all assistance in his power to the government, yet *the directors did not wish him to take any pains to procure the removal of inconveniences by means of representations to the governor; they rather wished these inconveniences to be employed as grounds of complaint against the government, and as arguments in aid of their efforts for the removal of the governor*. With a noticeable inconsistency, he however attributed the non-interference of your excellency to a settled design to injure this settlement, and concluded by reading a letter which he had addressed to the directors in England, complaining of the want of efficient protection in this and other particulars."

Mr. Hanson adds,—

"Here is an individual to whom a public body in London has thought fit to entrust, so far as they are able, the management of affairs involving the property of hundreds whom they have encouraged or induced to emigrate to this colony, openly proclaiming that he has consciously risked the destruction of property, and has even hazarded the loss of life, by refusing to take the measures within his power to settle the claims of the natives, in order that the evils which he had encouraged might be made a ground of complaint against the governor."

The arrangement entered into by Governor Hobson with Colonel Wakefield, by which the claims of the New Zealand Company to land were to be held valid as against all save native titles, and the ordinance passed by the governor and the Legislative Council in confirmation of this argument as an amendment of the ordinance of June, 1841, created great dissatisfaction among those whose prior claims were thus to be over-ridden by the Company. The new ordinance was disallowed by the home government, and the preceding one remained in force; but a portion of the population, numbering some of the oldest and most respectable settlers, were kept meanwhile in a state of feverish suspense. The natives likewise began to look upon the proceedings of the local government with suspicion and distrust in which feelings they were encour-

aged by disaffected Europeans. Captain Hobson, however, took an excellent means of disabusing them, by issuing a gazette in the Maori language, and distributing it among the chiefs, who were really very far from having any rightful cause of complaint against him, except that of not having sufficiently defended them from the encroachments of the settlers of the New Zealand Company, which he was quite unable to do. His own dealings with them for land had been perfectly straightforward; his experience in New Zealand, previous to being appointed lieutenant-governor or even consul, had convinced him of the difficulty of inducing the natives to alienate any considerable tract of country, and in procuring the quantity required by the exigencies of his position, he had judiciously employed the mediation of the missionaries.

The investigation of the claims of the New Zealand Company commenced on the 16th May, 1842; when Mr. Spain, who had been sent from England as special commissioner, opened his court at Wellington on that day.

Both Colonel Wakefield and the chiefs welcomed him warmly, and expressed themselves willing to abide by his adjudication; the latter assuring him of their perfect confidence in her Majesty's government, adding that their only wish was to be allowed to live peaceably with the Pakcha (stranger), and to cultivate the lands to which they were habituated, but that the boundaries of the land of the white man and of the Maori must be clearly defined.

Colonel Wakefield on his part showed equal pleasure at the arrival of Mr. Spain, who, he informed the directors, a few days before the opening of the court, "sincerely desires to settle the question of titles, with a view to the speedy and prosperous colonization of the country."

Dr. Evans appeared as counsel for the Company, to prove their purchases from the natives, but afterwards gave up to Colonel Wakefield, at his request, the advocacy of the cause, which the latter conducted in person for three days, and then again entrusted it to Dr. Evans. The claim to the Port Nicholson district was the first investigated, and all went on smoothly until Mr. Spain having examined Messrs. Dorset, E. J. Wakefield, and E. Puni, as witnesses for the purchase, required more evidence, which Colonel Wakefield declared to be quite unnecessary. Mr. Spain's persistence in this demand appears to have made him

for the first time aware that the investigation was not to be carried on as a mere form, but that it was really intended to give all parties a fair and impartial hearing. Upon this he immediately assumed a different tone, endeavouring by every means in his power to embarrass and impugn the acts of the commissioner, and indirectly and by *inucendo* to deny the jurisdiction of the commission. The counsel for the Company kept the commissioner daily waiting for hours after the opening of the court, by failing to bring before him natives living in the neighbourhood, who were said to have been parties to the conveyance to the Company of the Port Nicholson District.

Colonel Wakefield apprized the directors of the course adopted by Mr. Spain, expressing his surprise at the "searching inquiry" that had been set on foot, instead of, as he had expected, one which should have been "little more than a matter of form." He adds,—

"At the same time I was not forgetful of the assumption in the agreement (of November, 1840), that the lands had been purchased from the natives, and of some passages implying a proposed investigation into the titles; still less could I put out of sight the mischievous treaty of Waitangi. * * * In assuming the native title to be extinguished, and in appropriating the land, the Government would be conferring a positive benefit on the aborigines."*

On the receipt of this intelligence, Mr. Somes, on the part of the New Zealand Company, immediately addressed Lord Stanley (24th October, 1842), and asserted *for the first time*, that the title of the Company to land in New Zealand was derived from the agreement with the Crown of November, 1840, and was in no manner dependent on the validity of its original purchases from the native chiefs. This communication was followed by a long correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Company, in which the latter adhered to the view of the agreement above stated, and the former entirely dissented, maintaining that the Company were only entitled to confirmatory grants from the Crown of lands of which they had previously extinguished the native titles by purchase.

In September, 1842, Governor Hobson died at Auckland, his demise being without doubt accelerated by the numerous and increasing difficulties of his position, embittered as they were by factions and malicious opposition. Although it is difficult to form

* Appendix to Report of Select Committee of 1844; pp. 291-295.

a fair estimate of his abilities as a financier, from his conduct under the peculiar difficulties of his brief and troubled administration, it is yet scarcely possible to exonerate him from the charge of having committed that grave error in the governor of an infant colony, of entering upon a system of expenditure not warranted by its available resources. Strict frugality would have been the best and most honourable example the local government could have shown; if the colonists could not appreciate or would not follow it, the blame would have rested with them. One of the influences which tended to induce the adoption of an opposite course, was the existing state of affairs in Australia at the period of the establishment of British authority in New Zealand. Speculation was then at its height, and money abundant. Extravagance of every kind spread thence to New Zealand; every one lived beyond his means; money was borrowed at exorbitant rates of interest for the purpose of purchasing land, especially town allotments and water frontages, houses were built on a scale far exceeding the reasonable requirements of a small and struggling community, and farms were laid out which could not be stocked or cultivated, without much greater means than their owners could procure. The erroneous policy of offering lands for sale by auction, at a high upset price, though at one time the means of drawing some thousands of pounds to the government coffers, was really injurious to all parties by the reaction it caused; to the settlers especially, because it drew from them the capital which might profitably have been invested in the tillage of the soil, and to the governor also, by leading him to form and act upon an exaggerated estimate of the local resources. The expenses attendant upon the government of six or seven distinct and widely scattered settlements, several of them established in defiance of the natives, who as strongly as the colonists, and with equal right, appealed to Captain Hobson for protection, were necessarily very heavy. The whole revenue which could be collected in 1840, to meet an expenditure of £19,798 was only £926; that of 1841 (exclusive of the money raised by land sales, a large portion of which was to be appropriated to emigration purposes) amounted to but £5,507, while the expenditure had increased to £34,743. The treasury of New South Wales contributed in 1840, and up to May, 1841, £43,347 in the form of a loan; this

resource was then stopped. Even the land sales at Auckland (to which fund the embarrassed governor was compelled to resort as the only available means of meeting the exigencies of his position) had greatly disappointed his expectations, having yielded in 1841 only £27,559, instead of the £50,000 which had been confidently anticipated. In January, 1842, Captain Hobson wrote to Lord Stanley, that it was "utterly impossible to carry on the government of the colony without the assistance of the home government," and soon after he commenced drawing bills on the British Treasury, with the advice of his Executive Council, intending to do so to the amount of £25,000, to cover the deficiencies of the year 1842. The Lords of the Treasury decidedly objected to these proceedings, but consented to meet the bills to the extent of £10,000, announcing at the same time that any future bills so drawn would be dishonoured. Before this intelligence reached the colony, Governor Hobson was deceased, and the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Willoughby Shortland, temporarily assumed the reins of government. The permission given by Governor Hobson to the Company's agent to make an equitable arrangement with the Maories at Port Nicholson for the cession of their rights was renewed by Mr. Shortland, before whom Colonel Wakefield, accompanied by Mr. Spain, proceeded to Auckland, to submit a correspondence with the commissioner, wherein he says:—

"With a view to the final settlement of a question upon which the prosperous settlement of no inconsiderable portion of these islands depends, *I propose* on the part of the New Zealand Company, to abide by the decision of yourself (Mr. Spain) and the Protector of Aborigines, Mr. Halswell, as to the amount of compensation to be made by the Company to all natives, in cases of disputed possession of, or title to, land."

To this proposition the acting-governor agreed, leaving the detail to be arranged at Wellington; referees were appointed, and Mr. Spain undertook to act as umpire. In September, 1843, Mr. Shortland learned, that although the land commissioner and protector of aborigines had been arduously engaged in negotiating for the adjustment of the native claims, their efforts were rendered abortive by "the Company's agent having failed to carry out an arrangement entered into *at his own request, and solemnly confirmed at a meeting with the native chiefs at Port Nicholson.*"*

* App. to Rep. of Select Com. 1844; pp. 332, 333.

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